

# TIME



## AMERICA ALONE

by KIM LUTICK

*Davos and the Donald*

by RICHARD HAASS

*Happy hour with the 1%*

by MOLEYBALL



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2017 TAHOE



2017 SONIC



2017 MALIBU



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^ An armed member of the Swiss police keeps watch from the roof of the Hotel Davos at the World Economic Forum on Jan. 22

Photograph by **Simon Dawson**—**Bloomberg/Getty Images**

ON THE COVER:  
Illustration by **Lon Tweeten** for TIME

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published by Time Inc. weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2018 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: \$49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit [time.com/customerservice](http://time.com/customerservice). You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email [privacy@time.customersvc.com](mailto:privacy@time.customersvc.com). **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆



LETTER FROM DAVOS

## Fire and Flurries

IN 1941, THE FOUNDER OF THIS MAGAZINE WROTE “The American Century,” the most influential essay of his career, asserting that the U.S. should lead the world in the pursuit of freedom, growth and global well-being. Henry Luce’s thesis helped animate U.S. policy, for better and sometimes for worse, across a dozen presidencies. Countless books and essays assessed the American century, its impact and its durability.

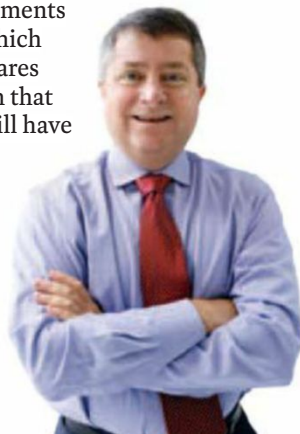
That durability has never been more in question. The clash Luce described, between focusing inward and “a truly American internationalism,” is again center stage. And nowhere is it more so than at this Swiss ski resort, “the den of globalism,” as the *Wall Street Journal* put it the other day, where leaders from around the world gather annually to discuss shared challenges and schmooze. World Economic Forum (WEF) participants arriving at the Zurich airport were greeted by a video whose themes included the need for “a collective stewardship of the entire planet.”

Enter President Trump, whose successful campaign explicitly rejected the agenda of what Stephen Bannon called “the party of Davos.” Much of the discussion here revolved around the mere anticipation of, and some trepidation about, Trump’s arrival. It was no accident that Canadian leader Justin Trudeau, a darling of the WEF set, chose Davos to announce that the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade pact will come back to life in new form—without the U.S. A WEF official, asked earlier in January about Trump Administration messaging at Davos, noted that the organization is committed to dialogue and that sometimes dialogue is “uncomfortable.”

Davos is a place of contradictions. One photo making the rounds showed a sign announcing both a DAY IN THE LIFE OF A REFUGEE and PRIVATE CAR PICK-UP. Trump too is a person of contradictions, often seeming to crave the approval of the elites he ran against; he is bringing the largest U.S. delegation ever to arrive in Davos. And despite his isolationist rhetoric and moves like withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, he has significantly boosted troops to Afghanistan, enforced the red line in Syria (which Barack Obama didn’t) and committed to sending large shipments of lethal weapons to Ukraine (which Obama didn’t). How Trump squares his vision of “America first” with that complicated global landscape will have immense implications for the next century.

*Edward*

Edward Felsenthal,  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF  
@EFELSENTHAL



**BEHIND THE SCENES** On TIME.com, meet Matt Black, who photographed this week’s feature on widespread poverty in the U.S. (page 32). “So often, poverty is portrayed as if it’s some sort of strange anomaly,” he says. “This project was an effort to counter that.” Read more about his work at [time.com/poorest-states](http://time.com/poorest-states)

From December 2016 to September 2017, Black traveled more than 40,000 miles across 27 states; this map depicts his fourth cross-country trip



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**GOING FOR GOLD** In a new TIME video, follow the surprising journey of the female Nigerian bobsledders who will represent their country—with its sub-Saharan climate—at the Winter Games in PyeongChang. Akuoma Omeoga, Ngozi Onwumere and Seun Adigun (below, from left) will be the first team from Africa to compete in the sport at the Olympics.

“Diversity explains to people that there are no limits in this life,” Adigun says. Watch the video and learn more at [time.com/bobsled](http://time.com/bobsled)



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## For the Record Survivors Speak

More than 150 women confronted Larry Nassar in a sentencing hearing for the former USA Gymnastics and Michigan State University doctor, who pleaded guilty to seven counts of criminal sexual conduct. On Jan. 24, he was sentenced to up to 175 years in prison. These are the survivors' words.



**'I was willing to physically hurt myself to get out of the abuse that I received at the ranch.'**

MATTIE LARSON, a 2010 national gymnastics champion, who says she hit her head on purpose to avoid going to a training camp that Nassar attended



**'LITTLE GIRLS DON'T STAY LITTLE FOREVER. THEY GROW INTO STRONG WOMEN WHO RETURN TO DESTROY YOUR WORLD.'**

KYLE STEPHENS, whose parents were friends with Nassar; she says he first abused her when she was 6



**'I will not rest until every last trace of your influence on this sport has been destroyed like the cancer it is.'**

ALY RAISMAN, six-time Olympic medalist in gymnastics; she says she was molested at the 2012 London Olympics

**'The army you chose in the late '90s to silence me, to dismiss me and my attempt at speaking the truth, will not prevail over the army you created when violating us.'**

TIFFANY THOMAS LOPEZ, who says she was abused while a softball player at Michigan State University, condemning those who protected Nassar



**'YOU DO NOT GET TO DECIDE WHEN WE ARE READY TO HEAL. WE MAY NEVER FULLY HEAL.'**

CHELSEA WILLIAMS, former elite gymnast; she says she was assaulted at age 16



**'They called me a liar, a whore and even accused me of making all of this up to get attention ... Well, who do they believe now, Larry?'**

JAMIE DANTZSCHER, 2000 Olympic bronze-medal gymnast and one of Nassar's first public accusers



LARSON, STEPHENS, DANTZSCHER: GETTY IMAGES; RAISMAN, WILLIAMS, LOPEZ: REUTERS



# The Brief

'TOM STEYER HAS A CONVICTION AND FEELS A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT ON IT' —PAGE 12



*Much of the Democratic base's anger is aimed at the Senate minority leader, Chuck Schumer of New York*

## POLITICS

### Democrats cave on shutdown, face backlash from the base

By Nash Jenkins  
and Maya Rhodan

AS THE FIRST GOVERNMENT shutdown since 2013 took hold, liberal activists had one message for Democrats in Congress: hold the line. For months, they had pressured lawmakers to reject any Republican plan to pay for the operations of the federal government that did not protect immigrants who were illegally brought to the U.S. by their parents as children. Ending the standoff without securing a promise to safeguard the so-called Dreamers “would be the worst-case scenario,” said Ben Wikler, Washington director for the progressive group MoveOn. Activists warned lawmakers of the stakes. “If Democrats blink, then Republicans own them,” said Frank Sharry, director of the pro-immigration-reform group America’s Voice.

But blink they did. Less than 72 hours into the shutdown, a majority of Senate Democrats joined their Republican colleagues in a vote to fund the government until Feb. 8. In return they got promises—or, skeptics grouched, vague assurances—from Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell that he would schedule votes on immigration, border security and a broader spending plan in the coming weeks.

The left’s fury was palpable. The leader of one political action committee said the vote would hinder Democratic hopes of winning elections in November. The nation’s largest teachers’ union, the National Education Association, said the kick-the-can-down-the-road approach wasn’t working for its 3 million

members. “Today’s cave by Senate Democrats—led by weak-kneed, right-of-center Democrats—is why people don’t believe the Democratic Party stands for anything,” Progressive Change Campaign Committee co-founder Stephanie Taylor said.

It was the fear of this reaction, from upstart advocacy groups and established behemoths alike, that drove so many Democrats to vote against the spending measure when the GOP first offered it earlier in January. And that same passion on the left explains why Senate Democrats with eyes on higher office—including Cory Booker, Kirsten Gillibrand and Elizabeth Warren, plus independent Bernie Sanders—resisted when party leaders moved to cut a deal with McConnell. They recognized that the base is restless. In a way, the Jan. 22 vote to reopen the government was the first policy melee in the party’s 2020 presidential primary battle.

But the Democrats’ defeat should not have been a surprise. Sure, the party’s left and right managed to row in the same direction for a while and agreed on a destination, but they never mapped their route. And they could have predicted that Republicans would not yield. “Turning the agenda over to Democrats who just shut down the government makes no sense,” John Cornyn of Texas, the Senate’s second-ranking Republican, told reporters on Jan. 21. “It seems like it encourages bad behavior.”

While Democrats were unified heading into the shutdown, the second-guessing began quickly. Some lawmakers heard from constituents back home—especially in states reliant on federal contractors. Others worried that the off-ramp for the shutdown hinged on Republicans’ caving. (Unlikely, if history were a guide.) For some Democrats, shutting down the government and programs they wanted to protect and expand ran counter to their core beliefs.

And so Democrats found themselves in a bind: squeezed between Republican conviction and the demands of their own base. In the end, they bought McConnell’s vague promises. Some Democrats argued that the concessions allowed the party to look responsible, while paving the way for gains in the fall’s midterm elections. “For the first time, we’re going to see actual votes [on immigration],” Senator Angus King, an independent who caucuses with the Democrats, said before the Jan. 22 vote. Maybe. McConnell never specifically promised a stand-alone bill on the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, which protects Dreamers. The next day, the third-ranking Republican in the House, Steve Scalise, declared McConnell’s work moot: “There were no commitments made in the House.” Which may prove the liberal critics’ case. —*With reporting by PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON*



## TICKER

### Two school shootings in two days

Separate shootings at schools in southwestern Kentucky and Italy, Texas, killed two people at each site and wounded many more. The crimes, on Jan. 22 and 23, brought to 11 the number of school shootings in the U.S. in the first 23 days of 2018.

### Japan avalanche engulfs skiers

The sudden eruption of a volcano on Mount Kusatsu-Shirane, in Japan’s Gunma prefecture, triggered an avalanche that killed one person and injured at least a dozen others who became trapped or were hit by falling rocks. Nine of those injured had been at a ski resort near the volcano.

### Huggies maker cuts thousands of jobs

Kimberly-Clark, the maker of Huggies and Kleenex, said on Jan. 23 that it would eliminate up to 5,500 jobs amid weak sales for its household basics. The company is also closing 10 of its 91 factories.

### Russia pulls Stalin satire

Russia’s Culture Ministry withdrew permission for the cinematic release of Armando Iannucci’s satirical comedy *The Death of Stalin*. Members of the parliament’s culture committee called the movie “insulting.”

## WORLD

# The problem with ‘Macedonia’

Tens of thousands of Greek protesters rallied in Thessaloniki on Jan. 21 against the use of “Macedonia” in the name of the neighboring nation officially known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).

The demonstrations came as the two countries begin talks to resolve the long-standing dispute. Here’s more.

—Tara John



*Protesters take to the streets in Thessaloniki, Greece, on Jan. 21*

## SIMMERING RESENTMENT

The disagreement started nearly 30 years ago, when the former Yugoslav republic declared independence and chose its name. Opponents say it implies a territorial claim over Greece’s northern region, which is also called Macedonia.

## HARDBALL

The issue led Greece to block its neighbor’s attempts to join NATO and the E.U. In 1994, Greece instituted a crippling trade embargo, which was lifted in 1995 after FYROM conceded to amend its constitution and change its national flag.

## STALEMATE

Both governments hope to come to a solution during U.N.-moderated talks, which started in January. They hope to reach an accord by June, but a recent poll showed that the majority of Greeks do not want “Macedonia” used in any solution.

## DIGITS

# 17.2 million

**Total number of births in China last year—down from 17.9 million in 2016, despite the change made to its one-child policy in 2015 that allows couples to have two children**





**NO EXIT** A man tries to escape from a balcony at Kabul's Intercontinental Hotel during a Taliban attack on Jan. 21. The 13-hour siege ended after the Afghan army killed the last of the six militants who had stormed the heavily guarded compound the night before. At least 20 people were killed, including 14 foreigners. American citizens are reportedly among the dead and injured. *Photograph by Omar Sobhani—Reuters*

## WORLD

### The North Korean pop star heading Olympic talks

ON JAN. 21, A DELEGATION OF NORTH KOREAN officials arrived in South Korea ahead of the Winter Olympics on a well-publicized visit to inspect the facilities where North Korean athletes will compete. But it was the woman heading the delegation, Hyon Song Wol, who sent local media into a frenzy.

**KOREAN IDOL** Hyon is the front woman in North Korean leader Kim Jong Un's handpicked all-female pop group Moranbong Band, known for its Western-style pop songs honoring the Supreme Leader and his regime. In 2013, South Korean media reported that Hyon had been executed following a sex scandal, but she reappeared on Korean television the following year. In October, she was appointed to the powerful Workers' Party Central Committee.



**GAMES WITHOUT FRONTIERS** After the historic thaw in relations between the two Koreas in January, Hyon had a prominent role in diplomatic talks. She will also head the 140-member Samjiyon Orchestra, made up of musicians and dancers, which will perform at the Games. In Seoul, Hyon's delegation was met by activists protesting the Olympic cooperation between the nations. North Korea's team is set to join South Korea under one flag in the opening ceremonies.

**MUSICAL DIPLOMACY** Bands and orchestras have long been used as a soft-power tool in North Korea. The isolated state, under international sanctions for its nuclear-weapons program, will be eager to be cast in a positive light during the Games. But Olympic officials will be just as eager to ensure that North Korea has no chance to put propaganda on display. —HELEN REGAN

◀ *Hyon's pop group Moranbong Band has been called North Korea's answer to the Spice Girls*

## DATA

### FREE AND FAIR NEWS

People around the world agree that media should be unbiased when covering politics, according to a Pew survey of 38 countries. Here's the percentage of people in a few of those places who say their news organizations are doing very or somewhat well at reporting the news accurately:



**93%**  
Tanzania



**80%**  
India



**65%**  
U.K.



**56%**  
U.S.



**22%**  
Greece



## TICKER

**Montana defends net neutrality**

Montana Governor Steve Bullock pushed back against the FCC's ruling to repeal net neutrality by signing an executive order on Jan. 22 that will require Internet service providers with state contracts, like AT&T, to abide by core aspects of net neutrality including not charging more for faster speeds.

**Al-Sisi opponent arrested in Egypt**

Egyptian authorities arrested Sami Anan, the retired general who announced that he would run against President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi in the country's March election. The army said Anan had violated Egypt's military code.

**German nurse may have killed many more than thought**

A German nurse jailed in 2015 for killing two people was charged on Jan. 22 with the murder of another 97 people, all patients in clinics where he worked. Niels Hoegel is accused of giving victims non-prescribed drugs so he could then attempt to revive them.

**Hawaii governor's Twitter blunder**

Hawaii Governor David Ige told reporters that his delayed response in correcting a false alarm on Jan. 13 about a ballistic missile approaching the state came about because he'd forgotten his Twitter password.

## THE RISK REPORT

## Turkey charges into Syria, threatening its alliance with Russia

By Ian Bremmer

TURKISH PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP

Erdogan isn't happy with the West. He's angry at the Trump Administration, because it refuses to extradite Fethullah Gulen, a former preacher now living in Pennsylvania whom Erdogan accuses of treachery and treason. He is also infuriated by the fact that the U.S. has chosen to partner with Syrian Kurds in the fight against ISIS, because he sees them as terrorists who support Kurdish separatists inside Turkey. He has demanded that the U.S. stop working with Syrian Kurds, but that won't happen anytime soon. Erdogan also has a gripe with Europe, which has condemned his human-rights record and refused to advance Turkey's bid to join the E.U.

All ambitious leaders need allies, and Erdogan has turned to Russian President Vladimir Putin, who is only too happy to help undermine NATO by courting one of its most strategically important members. In November, Erdogan thumbed his nose at Western critics by purchasing a Russian-made air-defense system while scolding NATO allies for not offering him a better deal.

Erdogan is not likely to find Russia a reliable friend. In 2013, after his repeated warnings that Russian planes should not violate Turkey's airspace en route to Syria, Turkey shot down a Russian jet, killing a pilot. Putin responded by squeezing Turkey's

economy until Erdogan finally apologized.

The pair now treat that episode as old history, but it shows what can happen when these two strong-willed leaders are at cross-purposes in Syria, the place where their interests are most clearly at odds. Erdogan wants Syria's Bashar Assad out. Russia considers Assad its most important Middle East ally.

And now Turkey has launched a ground assault in Syria, one that's intended to push Syrian Kurds from territory they hold near the Turkish border. The U.S. and Russia have both urged restraint and, for now, have pulled their forces from Turkey's path. But

**Erdogan needs Putin much more than Putin needs Erdogan—and he had better be careful**

both have worked with Syria's Kurds and would prefer that Turkey back off. Erdogan insists he will not. Russian objections have been muted, but that may not last long.

Turkey will remain a member of NATO, because neither Turkey nor

the alliance have good reason to cut ties. But Erdogan's relations with Europe and the U.S. will worsen as Turkey moves toward probable early elections later this year and he turns to anti-Western rhetoric to shore up his base. He has already angered Iran, which also considers Assad a crucial ally, and the Saudis over his support for Islamist political movements in the Arab world.

That leaves Russia. But Erdogan needs Putin much more than Putin needs Erdogan—and he had better be careful. □

## ANIMALS

## Commemorated creatures

For delivering top-secret messages during WW II, Mary the homing pigeon has become the first animal in Britain to earn a commemorative plaque marking her home.

Here, other animal honors. —Flora Carr

## DOLLY

Dolly the Sheep, the first mammal cloned from adult cells, was honored with a statue in Imperial College London's Central Library in 2016, to mark the 20 years since her cloning.



## TOMBILI

A bronze sculpture of Tombili, a rotund cat who became an Internet sensation when a photo of him reclining on a patch of pavement in Istanbul went viral, was unveiled in that spot in 2016.

## BRETAGNE

Beloved search dog Bretagne, who worked at Ground Zero after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, was commemorated with a life-size bronze statue in a Houston suburb in 2017.



## Milestones

### NOMINATED

**Rachel Morrison**, director of photography for *Mudbound*, for the Best Cinematography Oscar—the first woman to be nominated in the category.

### RETIRED

**Neil Diamond**, musician, from touring, because of a diagnosis of Parkinson's disease; the singer had been about to begin the third leg of his 50th anniversary tour.

### DIED

Fantasy and science-fiction author **Ursula Le Guin**, known for the Earthsea series of novels, at 88.

➤ French gastronomy master **Paul Bocuse**, the so-called Pope of French cuisine, at 91.

➤ Naomi Parker Fraley, whose **image is thought to have inspired the iconic "We Can Do It!" poster**, at 96.



### PROSECUTED

## Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo Myanmar's truth seekers

IT'S HARD TO HIDE A massacre, but that hasn't stopped Myanmar from trying. Satellites see the destruction, survivors speak out, and few things make reporters more determined fact finders than being told their senses have tricked them. Recently, Myanmar began the process of putting two of the most committed behind bars.

The trial of Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, two Burmese reporters for Reuters, began on Jan. 23 despite a global appeal for their freedom. They were detained in December after accepting an invitation by police officers to meet over dinner. Authorities later said the pair, held incommunicado, were arrested for possession of "secret government documents" about a military campaign in western Myanmar.

It's the latest sign that what once looked like democratic progress in Myanmar has been violently derailed. Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel laureate who now leads the new civilian government, remains implacably silent about allegations that the military has systematically targeted the country's 1 million Rohingya Muslims.

These accusations are a global concern; the U.S. calls it ethnic cleansing, while the U.N. human rights chief said he couldn't rule out "elements of genocide." Fleeing a



Kyaw Soe Oo outside a Yangon court on Jan. 10

campaign of arson, rape and murder, more than 688,000 Rohingya, a persecuted stateless minority, have fled to Bangladesh since Aug. 25, when an insurgent attack triggered brutal army reprisals.

Despite official denials, a partial picture of what happened to the Rohingya exists largely because news organizations like Reuters have documented it. In 2014, the company won a Pulitzer Prize for its reports on the group's persecution. Its recent reporting may have helped corner the army into a rare admission of the existence of a mass grave.

The two reporters now facing 14-year prison sentences were charged under a colonial-era law that criminalizes the intention to share anything the government wants to conceal. But Wa Lone, 31, and Kyaw Soe Oo, 27, may have been entrapped; family members say they were apprehended moments after police handed over documents

related to security operations.

"It remains entirely clear that they are innocent," Stephen J. Adler, president and editor in chief of Reuters, said in a recent statement, calling their arrest "an egregious attack on press freedom." The arrest has had a chilling effect on other journalists, who fear they may be next. "But we should not stop doing what we always do," says Aung Naing Soe, a Burmese photojournalist who himself was recently jailed on the premise that he had flown a drone near Parliament.

Bangladesh is soon to begin returning hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees, despite warnings from U.N. agencies that it's too soon. If the process goes ahead, they'll be sent back to a place where aid is restricted, journalists are banned and at least one mass grave has been found. Whatever happens in that void, Myanmar doesn't want anyone to see it.

—FELIZ SOLOMON

## Trump's solar tariffs will cost American jobs and hurt a growing industry

By Justin Worland

JIM LAMON IS JUST THE KIND OF BUSINESSMAN THAT Donald Trump would like. And Lamon is the kind of businessman who likes Trump. The CEO of DEPCOM Power grew up in Alabama, served six years in the Air Force and spent decades constructing coal-fired power plants. He's given thousands of dollars to GOP causes, including Trump's victory fund.

But a few years ago, Lamon saw that coal's future was bleak and switched to building solar power plants. Now he's worried that Trump will harm his business.

The Trump Administration announced a 30% tariff on solar-panel imports on Jan. 22, a move that will push the cost of solar panels to a level at which it no longer makes sense to build solar power plants in some places. That will hit Lamon and his employees hard. DEPCOM Power employs more than 1,600 people to design, build and operate solar farms, with projects dotting the country in red and blue states alike. The Solar Energy Industries Association estimates that the new tariff will cost 23,000 jobs in 2018—about 9% of the total number of people who work in the industry.

"Solar is not just expanding today because it's green or clean—those are side benefits," Lamon says. "Look at what it can help do to the overall U.S. economy ... We find people making \$8, \$9 an hour flipping burgers, and we bring them to a solar plant and pay them \$18."

**TRUMP'S DISDAIN** for renewable energy sources was no secret during his campaign for President. As a candidate, he often criticized alternative energy, saying solar was "not working so good" and wind power "kills all your birds." Instead he trumpeted coal. Despite Trump's views, Lamon bet on low-cost solar as a more affordable long-term energy source. Without subsidies, electricity from large-scale solar power plants currently costs about a third the price of coal and roughly the same as natural gas, according to the financial advisory firm Lazard. But a tariff on imported parts will cut into the profit margin at firms like Lamon's.

Trump's decision came after two U.S.-based solar-panel manufacturers formally petitioned the U.S. International Trade Commission in May 2017, arguing that competition from China posed an existential threat to their industry. The federal agency ruled in the manufacturers' favor in October, giving the Trump Administration free rein under federal law to impose a tariff as a solution. "The President's action makes clear again that the Trump Administration will always defend American workers," said U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer.

But analysts say the 30% tariff will cripple installers, who rely on low-cost imported panels to stay competitive with other energy sources, while



*Lit up: Construction crews assemble solar modules for a 55-megawatt power plant in Idaho built by DEPCOM*

*Former coal-plant builder Jim Lamon, CEO of DEPCOM Power, a solar company*



at the same not doing enough to save ailing solar manufacturers that can't compete with importers. The two sides of the solar industry don't see eye to eye on the tariff, but U.S. installers dwarf manufacturers, employing far more people and generating greater revenue. The move does, however, fit in with the Trump Administration's effort to boost coal at the expense of renewables, even though analysts say coal isn't bouncing back no matter what. It also allows Trump to make good on a campaign promise to crack down on what he sees as China's unfair trade practices.

Even before Trump's announcement, concern over the tariff had spread to laborers employed at solar-installation sites across the country, says Matt McMullan, a project director for

Missouri-based McCarthy Building Companies. McCarthy cut its projected revenue from solar projects in half for 2018 in anticipation of the tariff's raising costs, which will make some projects unviable. Now the tariff has cast into doubt the future of many in his workforce. Says McMullan, "A lot of them naturally ask where they're going next." □





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# TIME with: Impeachment crusader Tom Steyer

By Katy Steinmetz/San Francisco

IN THE PARKING GARAGE OF THE CALIFORNIA TENNIS CLUB in San Francisco, Tom Steyer opens the door of his Chevy Volt. The tiny hybrid vehicle is not a typical choice for a billionaire, but Steyer is an environmentalist who has spent vast sums to raise awareness about climate change. So the sandy-haired 60-year-old folds himself into the cramped backseat as an aide takes the wheel for the 30-mile drive to a speaking engagement in the town of Concord. Next to him is an anthology of Mary Oliver's poems. As the car takes off, I ask if he knows that lovely line "Tell me, what is it you plan to do/ with your one wild and precious life?" Steyer smiles. "I believe I've used that statement a few hundred times," he says.

What Steyer plans to do with his wild, precious life—and his abundant resources—has become a matter of heated speculation. A few days before our car ride in mid-January, the man who is often styled as a liberal counterweight to the Koch brothers announced that he will spend \$30 million this year through his super PAC, NextGen America, to help the Democrats win back the House. That's on top of his campaign

for President Trump's impeachment, on which he's dropped \$20 million, despite some objections from his own party. "I'm super-ambitious about having an impact, and unabashedly so," says Steyer, who topped lists of America's biggest donors in the past few election cycles. "And I think we're making up a way to do that."

Steyer has flirted with running for office, leading some to wonder if he's also using such projects to build a candidate's résumé. Chris Lehane, a

longtime political adviser and friend who runs Airbnb's policy shop, says Steyer gave some thought to running for Senator Dianne Feinstein's seat in 2018 after the California Democrat said that Trump "can be a good President." That is not a belief Steyer shares. But the prolific donor says he will do whatever has "the biggest impact," and has concluded that funding grassroots activism is the most useful thing he can do for the progressive cause. At least for now.

**TO DATE**, the only elected office Steyer has ever run for was student-body president at his prestigious East Coast boarding school. It was the mid-1970s and Phillips Exeter Academy had recently gone co-ed, so Steyer campaigned in support of parietals, or the right of boys and girls to visit each other in their rooms. (Not surprisingly, the platform got him elected.) From there, Steyer went on to several other elite institutions—Yale, Stanford, Goldman Sachs—before founding a hedge fund

that turned millions into billions in San Francisco, where he now lives in a home that overlooks the Golden Gate Bridge.

When Steyer entered the political arena in earnest about five years ago, he focused on making climate change a central issue for Democrats. Despite heavy spending, his super PAC—then called NextGen Climate—had a mixed record. That may be why, when Trump apparently caught wind of the impeachment campaign, he tweeted that Steyer was "wacky & totally unhinged" and "never wins elections!"

In ads for Steyer's "Need to Impeach" effort, he argues straight to the camera that the President's actions—like firing FBI Director James Comey and stoking nuclear conflict with North Korea—make him a danger to the American people. The fact that Steyer chose to be the face of the campaign is one reason people like Thad Kousser, a political science professor at the University of California, San Diego, think he is in the midst of a "soft launch" for a 2020 presidential run. When asked about such aspirations, Steyer just laughs and says that a lot could happen between now and November: "There are so many different ways this world could look."

If he chose to run, Steyer would likely be dogged by the notion that billionaires are out of touch and the fact that he made money off coal-related projects before becoming a climate-change crusader. "Do I wish I had figured it out sooner?" he says in the back of the Volt, with an ice pack nursing a knee injury from his college soccer days. "Of course I do."

He would also have a ready-made mailing list: so far, about 4.4 million people have signed on to his impeachment campaign. Earlier in the day, some of those individuals had volunteered to help deliver copies of *Fire and Fury*—Michael Wolff's explosive book about Trump's first months in the White House—to every member of Congress. Staff reported to Steyer on that project and others during debriefs at the buzzing NextGen office. The meetings were more gregarious than methodical; Steyer peppered staff with questions as he ate a sandwich wrapped in lettuce rather than bread. The boss seemed avuncular and boyish, easy to laugh and apt to joke, nibbling

## BY THE NUMBERS

### \$30M

In January, Steyer announced that his super PAC, NextGen America, will spend \$30 million to help turn out young voters and aid Democrats in the 2018 midterms.

### 24

Democrats need to gain 24 seats in November to retake the majority in the House. NextGen plans to focus on races in swing states like Florida as well as blue states like California.

### \$91M

In 2016, Steyer and his wife spent more than \$91 million to support progressive candidates and causes, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Steyer was the biggest individual donor of the election cycle.

'[Trump] is not a normal guy. This is not a normal circumstance. Anyone who is treating it that way is missing the point.'





his nails and shifting in his chair. (One Democratic operative said comparisons to the Kochs are unfair, because the conservative megadonors run a more sophisticated operation.)

While Democrats have applauded Steyer's plan to get out the vote in the midterms, some also consider his impeachment crusade to be distracting—a delicate way of saying politically unsound. They worry it may serve to divide the left and mobilize Republican voters who find it overreaching. If that's true, Steyer's efforts could work against each other as the NextGen staff races to register left-leaning millennials in swing states across the country. But for Steyer, that seems beside the point: he has a conviction and feels a moral responsibility to act on it, whatever the polling indicates. "This is not a normal guy. This is not a normal circumstance," he says of Trump. "Anyone who is treating it that way is missing the point."

^  
*Steyer, one of the nation's biggest donors, has flirted with running for office*

**AS THE VOLT** nears Concord, Steyer opens a binder to review the speech he will give to a room full of activists, about how immigrants are under attack despite being the "threads" that hold the American fabric together. It's a political message and a personal one. The aide who is driving the car is a so-called Dreamer from El Salvador—one of the roughly 800,000 people who were brought to the country illegally as children and recently found themselves at the center of a congressional debate that briefly shut down the federal government. He's also an occasional workout partner for Steyer and helps the boss practice his Spanish on trips.

As he begins to read, Steyer takes a pen and draws five crosses on his left hand, a big one in the center and then a smaller one in each quadrant. Lehane

says Steyer began a "radical evolution" in his thinking when the financial crisis hit a decade ago. He became more religious, thought more about his role in the world and began morphing into a man who spends his days considering the intersection between global warming and social justice. The doodle looks like a Jerusalem cross, a symbol associated with spreading the gospel. Steyer says it reminds him "to try and tell the truth." It also serves as a representation of his family: his wife the big cross, with their four children around her.

Inside a low-ceilinged ballroom, Steyer delivers what feels like a simulacrum of a campaign speech to a receptive crowd. "The triumph that we have is not where we started," Steyer says, "but the progress toward justice we have made since we started." As he finishes and the crowd files out, one attendee turns to another by the door. "I don't know about you," the man says, "but that speech sounded pretty presidential to me." □





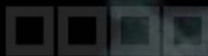
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## Last respects

Nicol Díaz, 17, center, and Jose Díaz, 13, left, weep at the grave of their father José Alejandro Díaz Pimentel, a Venezuelan rebel killed after a shootout with government forces, in El Hatillo on Jan. 20. He was killed along with Óscar Pérez, the rogue police officer and former helicopter pilot who was the leader of the small antigovernment group and, last June, commandeered a helicopter and attacked the nation's Interior Ministry and Supreme Court.

Photograph by Meridith Kohut—  
The New York Times/Redux

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# The View

'WE URGENTLY NEED A MUCH, MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE FLU VACCINE.' —PAGE 20



## EXCERPT

### How diversity training infuriates men and fails women

By Joanne Lipman

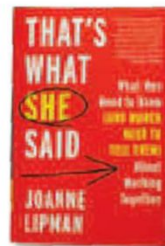
DECADES BEFORE ANITA HILL, Gretchen Carlson or #MeToo, American companies dreamed up “diversity training,” typically a course that lasts anywhere from an hour to a couple of days, with the goal of wiping out biases against women and others from underrepresented groups. For most of its history, diversity training has been pretty much a cudgel, pounding white men into submission with a mix of finger-wagging and guilt-mongering.

The first training programs surfaced in the 1950s, after men returned from World War II and were appalled and perplexed to find women in their offices. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,

the training took on more urgency. Within a decade, it had morphed into a knee-jerk response to legal actions, after a series of high-profile sex-discrimination suits, including one by the women of *Newsweek* magazine, who were stranded in a pink ghetto. “Women don’t write at *Newsweek*. If

you want to be a writer, go someplace else,” the bosses told them, according to Lynn Povich, one of the 46 women who sued.

By the time I entered the workforce in the 1980s, the *Newsweek* suit and others like it—led by women at *TIME*, the Associated Press and the *New York Times*—were mostly forgotten. Diversity training had taken a backseat



Lipman's book will hit shelves on Jan. 30

too. I don't recall ever hearing the phrase until the 1990s. By then, it had been reconstituted as a feel-good exercise in consciousness-raising. White men were told they should include women and minorities because it's the right thing to do. It was all about the importance of "inclusion."

But here's the thing about diversity training: it doesn't work.

Harvard organizational sociology professor Frank Dobbin and others have since delved into why such programs have failed. Dobbin combed through thousands of data points and found that for white women and black men and women in management positions, it actually made things worse. That's right: companies that introduced diversity training would actually employ more women and black men today if they had never had diversity training at all. He singled out three situations in which training is doomed to fail: when it's mandatory; when it so much as mentions the law; or when it is specific to managers, as opposed to being offered to all employees. Unfortunately, he found, about 75% of firms with diversity-training programs fall into at least one of those categories.

Perhaps more to the point is the fact that the training infuriates the people it's intended to educate: white men. "Many interpreted the key learning point as having to walk on eggshells around women and minorities—choosing words carefully so as not to offend. Some surmised that it meant white men were villains, still others assumed that they would lose their jobs to minorities and women, while others concluded that women and minorities were simply too sensitive," executives Rohini Anand and Mary-Frances Winters noted in a 2008 analysis of diversity training in the *Academy of Management Learning & Education*.

Training done badly can also damage otherwise cordial relationships. Women and minorities often leave training sessions thinking their co-workers must be even more biased than they had previously imagined. In a more troubling development, it turns out that telling people about others' biases can actually heighten their own. Researchers have found that when people believe everybody else is biased, they feel free to be prejudiced themselves. In one study, a group of managers was told that stereotypes are rare, while another group was told that stereotypes are common. Then both groups were asked to evaluate male and female job candidates. The managers who were told that stereotypes are common were more biased against the women. In a similar study, managers didn't want to hire women and found them unlikely.

The evidence is damning. Yet companies continue to invest heavily in diversity train-

ing, spending, by one estimate, almost \$8 billion a year. It has led to what the *Economist* dubbed "diversity fatigue." In a recent article, the magazine suggested that 12 of the most terrifying words in the English language are *I'm from human resources, and I'm here to organize a diversity workshop*.

Now companies are searching for more effective, less infuriating alternatives. Take tech firms, which have come under fire for being among the worst offenders when it comes to bias. The irony is that they have also been at the forefront of devising new ways to combat it. Can they turn around a culture where sexism has not only been tolerated but in many cases celebrated?

I sat down with Brian Welle, director of people analytics at Google, who is tasked with helping lead the latest trend: unconscious-bias training. We all have prejudices buried so deeply inside of us that we don't know they exist. Unconscious-bias training is supposed to arm employees with the tools they need to recognize it and neutralize these prejudices. His role, Welle told me, was to ensure that "every decision we made, from hiring to promotion to pay to performance, didn't have an unintended bias" against women or other underrepresented groups.

Welle seized on an insight that has proved to be key for anyone who is trying to wipe out hidden biases: if we believe that everyone around us is trying hard to fight against those stereotypes and prejudices, we'll do the same. Call it peer pressure, or call it a pack mentality. Whatever it is, it works. Our own biases disappear.

Welle and his team ultimately developed a workshop for Google employees that strives to mimic those conditions. In a typical session, he explains the science, so that employees can understand that yes, we're all biased, and yes, we're all trying to fight it, and don't worry, it isn't your fault. He focuses on four ways to "interrupt" bias, all of which boil down to one word: awareness.

He encourages employees to use consistent criteria to measure success and to rely on data rather than on gut reactions when evaluating others. He urges them to notice how they react to subtle cues. Finally, he encourages employees to call out bias when they see it, even if the culprit is their own boss.

To be sure, unconscious-bias training isn't a cure-all. Last year, a male Google engineer penned an anti-diversity "manifesto" protesting such efforts, and later called the firm's training "just a lot of shaming." The company fired him—and he hit back in January, suing Google for discrimination against conservative white males. Google is also fighting U.S. Department of Labor allegations of "extreme" underpayment to female Google employees, which the company denies.

**'Women and minorities often leave training sessions thinking their co-workers are more biased.'**

JOANNE LIPMAN,  
author and media  
executive





Still, Google's seminar is a model that other companies have adopted. In just the past few years, this kind of training has exploded at companies across the country. At Google, about 75% of its 75,000 employees have taken the workshop, and in 2014 the company spent \$114 million on its various diversity programs.

At least 20% of companies in the U.S. now offer unconscious-bias training, from the Royal Bank of Canada to consultants McKinsey & Co. ("We do that big time," says its top executive, Dominic Barton) and defense contractor BAE Systems. Almost all of the big tech firms already offer it, including Facebook, Salesforce and VMware, with more joining by the day. By some estimates, 50% of all American corporations will offer unconscious-bias training in the not-too-distant future.

Undoubtedly, the popularity of these programs has soared in part because they intentionally don't cast blame. The appeal of the training is that, unlike old-fashioned diversity training, it's intended to be guilt-free. However, how much companies talk about equality and inclusiveness matters little compared with how they act. Incentives speak louder than any speeches by the CEO, or bias-training workshops, or posters on a wall.

For Google, as for others, one key incentive came in the form of family leave. In 2007, Google sweetened its leave policy, extending paid maternity leave to nearly five months, from three. The result was immediate. Attrition rates for women who had babies plunged by 50%.

That set off an arms race of sorts, with a growing number of tech firms offering gender-neutral paid parental leave to men as well as women, including Twitter (20 weeks), Etsy (26 weeks), Facebook (four months) and Change.org (18 weeks). Netflix and Virgin Management increased paid parental leave to a full year. The practice is now spreading beyond the tech industry to other industries as well.

The results of these changes are still unfolding. But they point to a hard truth. For men as well as women, it doesn't matter how sincere companies are in embracing diversity if their own policies work against it—and in particular if they make it impossible to balance work with family. America lags far behind most industrial countries in this respect. It is the only industrialized country in the world that doesn't offer paid parental leave. At least 96 other countries offer not only guaranteed maternity leave but paternity leave as well, including Gambia, Armenia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Togo and Mauritius. Without broad policy changes that allow parents in every industry and at every level to have access to affordable health care and child care, the rest doesn't matter. □



*More women in the U.S., especially older single ones, are having babies*

#### FERTILITY

## No, you aren't imagining all those strollers. There are more moms

By **Belinda Luscombe**

IN A REVERSAL OF A DECADES-long trend, more women in the U.S. are choosing to have children, and they're making bigger families. An analysis of recent U.S. Census figures by Pew Research shows that by the end of their childbearing years, 86% of these women have had kids, a 7.5% rise since 2006.

But they're embarking on motherhood in a very different manner from their forebears. They're waiting longer—the median age of a first-time mother is now 26, up from 23—and they are much less likely to be married. In fact, one of the most striking trends to emerge from the new report is the change since 1994 in the profile of the 40-to-44-year-old single mother:

- She's now in the majority. Most never-married women in that age range have had a child, a rise of 75% in two decades.
- She's much more likely to be educated. More than twice as many of these moms have a

bachelor's degree and five times as many have a postgraduate degree.

- She's more likely to be white: the percentage of unmarried white women who have given birth has almost tripled, from 13% to 37%.

- There's also a rise among single black women, three-quarters of whom have had a kid by the end of their childbearing years, up from two-thirds.

- Motherhood is the norm for those without a college degree. Single women with a high school education in this age group are more likely to have kids: 70% are moms, up from 48% in 1994.

It's probably too early to announce a new baby boom. The rates of childbearing are now where they were in the early 1990s. Will they improve? Many economists hope so. Fertility rates—up to a point—mirror the health of the economy. But they also contribute to it: new taxpayers are always welcome. □

## We need to take flu outbreaks far more seriously

By Jonathan D. Quick

FLU COMPLACENCY IS KILLING US. The usual response to the annual flu is not enough to combat the risks we currently face, let alone prepare us for an even deadlier pandemic flu that most experts agree will come in the future. Yes, we have an annual vaccine, and everyone eligible should get it without question. The reality, however, is that we largely remain stuck at immunization rates of under 50%. And the flu vaccines we have are only 60% effective in the best years and 10% effective in the worst years. The current flu vaccine is better than nothing. We urgently need a much, much more effective flu vaccine.

People suffer and die needlessly. In the U.S. alone, seasonal flu can cause up to 36 million infections, three-quarters of a million hospitalizations and 56,000 deaths. We are not taking the time and investing the resources needed to protect ourselves, our loved ones and our communities.

Why not? We haven't been hit by a truly devastating pandemic in a long time. So as individuals, we let down our guard as our leaders quietly defund and destaff the services we need to protect us.

The risk to humanity of continued foot dragging is huge. In a severe pandemic, the U.S. health care system could be overwhelmed in just weeks. Millions of people would be felled by the virus, and hundreds of thousands—including newborn babies, toddlers and adults—would die in the weeks and months following the initial outbreak.

Inadequate preparedness programs—and the investments required to fund and sustain them—mean that even with some of the best available health care there is, the U.S. remains woefully susceptible to a major future flu epidemic. Since 2003, the federal government has cut per capita funding by 60% for the U.S. Public Health Emergency Preparedness program that it created in the aftermath



Overflow flu patients are placed in a tent outside a hospital in California

of the 9/11 attacks to protect against bioterrorism, pandemics and other public health emergencies. This has contributed to the loss of more than 45,700 jobs at state and local health departments since 2008. And the Trump Administration has called for even more draconian budget cuts.

The cost of preventing epidemics is roughly a tenth of what it costs to cope with them when they hit. In 2012, renowned professor Michael Osterholm from the University of Minnesota issued a clarion call for an annual billion-dollar U.S. commitment to the development of a universal flu vaccine. Six years later, the search for a universal vaccine remains seriously underfunded, even as the seasonal flu costs the U.S. economy an estimated \$87 billion a year.

Why do we as a nation continue to leave ourselves vulnerable? The simple answer lies in our collective complacency. As soon as headlines about the flu are gone, hospitals are emptied of flu

patients, schools are back in session and workplace absenteeism declines, we go back to business as usual.

**AT THE PERSONAL LEVEL**, you can learn the essentials of reducing flu transmission in your family and local community. You can make sure that everyone in your family receives the flu shot; today less than half of young Americans get the flu shot, and 1 in 5 millennials believes the long-disproved myth that vaccines can cause autism. And you can reach out to your congressional representatives to encourage them to support funding that strengthens local, state and national pandemic-preparedness programs.

Leading scientists and public health officials have the capability to keep us much safer from devastating influenza pandemics. They need your prompt and decisive support to succeed. Your action today may be a matter of life and death for you and your loved ones.

Quick is a senior fellow at Management Sciences for Health and an instructor at Harvard Medical School. His new book, *The End of Epidemics: The Looming Threat to Humanity and How to Stop It*, is out on Jan. 30.

**The cost of preventing epidemics is roughly a tenth of what it costs to cope with them when they hit**



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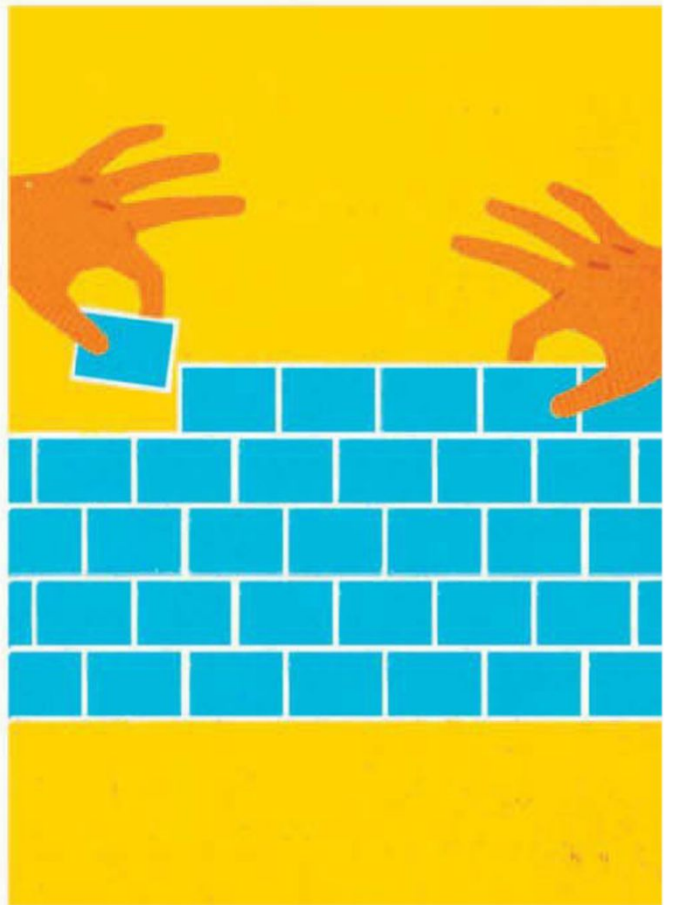
certification, due to its concept of sustainability which has been inspired by nature, culture and life. The hotel project maintains a vision that emphasizes the importance of sustainability in three important dimensions:

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World

# UNDOING THE WORLD AMERICA MADE



# MR. TRUMP GOES TO DAVOS

By KARL VICK

# **Could this be it? Might the American Century actually clock out at just 72 years, from 1945 to 2017? No longer than Louis XIV ruled France? Only 36 months more than the Soviet Union lasted, after all that bother? The question sounds preposterous.**

For one, there is the unrivaled U.S. military. For another, there is the U.S. economy, still larger than any other. But then there's the U.S. President, who in the name of making the country great again has renounced the global architecture that the U.S. designed, championed and dominated for generations. It's the very international system that did so much to cement American greatness in the first place. Pulling out of it won't be easy—kind of like playing Jenga wearing mittens—if it's possible at all. But Donald Trump has gone about trying with brio.

To recap, the U.S. emerged from the devastation of World War II as the most powerful nation on the planet. In his last months in office, Franklin D. Roosevelt midwived international institutions that gave every nation a stake in keeping peaceful and stable a world that had America at its center. Not by chance were the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund all located in the U.S. Nor was it coincidental that, for the next 70 years, U.S. Presidents articulated foreign policies that summoned the world to America's side.

It was a matter of championing goals—freedom and free markets, progress and human rights—that Americans thought of as American values, but that even authoritarian regimes like the Soviet Union felt obliged to at least nominally embrace in treaties and

proclamations such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And if they carried the tinny echo of boilerplate inside the General Assembly, it was quite something to hear them quoted by a schoolteacher under the thumb of a warlord in Congo, or a Kurdish peasant in Turkey's militarized southeast.

All that began changing a year ago. In his "America first" Inaugural Address and in every major speech since, Trump has cast the world largely made by the U.S. as its greatest enemy: a brutal zone of ungrateful allies, terrorists disguised as immigrants and East Asians eating our lunch. America's 45th President may go down as the first to embrace fear itself. But at the start of his second year in office, Trump still is not one to shy from a confrontation. With the federal government back open for business, he steered, like St. George toward the dragon's cave, to Davos, Switzerland, and the annual gathering of the World Economic Forum.

It's the crowd Trump referred to during his campaign as the "global power structure that is respon-



President Trump is the first U.S.  
President to attend Davos since Bill  
Clinton, who became a regular



sible for the economic decisions that have robbed our working class, stripped our country of its wealth and put that money into the pockets of a handful of large corporations and political entities.”

**WHAT EXACTLY IS DAVOS?** There has never been a photograph that shows the place clearly, which is actually fitting, inasmuch as the ski resort is synonymous with the faceless forces that steer life on earth. “Globalism” takes in the world all at once—one market, one ecology, one shared responsibility. And its rise has coincided with amazing progress: in 1981, 44% of the world’s population was living in extreme poverty. Today it’s 10%.

The gains, however, have not been uniform. The British charity Oxfam calculates that 4 out of 5 dollars generated in 2017 went to the world’s wealthiest 1%, a topic that will be addressed, as it is nearly every year, in breakout sessions. Davos, it has been said, is where billionaires go to talk to millionaires about the problems of the working class.

11

Number of the original 12 nations affirming completion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership on Jan. 23, a year after Trump withdrew the U.S. from the trade pact

Which means Trump should be right at home. He won the presidency by flamboyantly exploiting the chasm between the supremely assured global elite (including the Clinton Foundation) and the deep unease of U.S. workers who have lived with stagnant wages during the four decades that Davos has existed. The loss of factory jobs to low-wage countries cast the matter in patriotic terms. “At the bedrock of our politics,” Trump said in his Inaugural, “will be a total allegiance to the United States of America.”

The problem is what to do about it in a world the U.S. not only built but built to last. Globalism’s core is the capitalist system that prevailed in the Cold War by bankrupting the Soviets, and then coaxed Communist China to transform itself into something new: a market-based economy topped by an authoritarian order. A year ago it was Chinese President Xi Jinping who made a star turn at Davos, delivering a robust defense of open trade with the zeal of a convert. “The global economy is the big ocean you cannot escape from,” Xi said, adding, of China, “We have learned how to swim.”

The speech teed up what turned out to be a breakout year for the only country positioned to assume world leadership. Ten months later, Xi announced that China would move to “center stage in the world,” its path cleared by none other than the new U.S. President. Over the course of 2017, Trump demeaned NATO, pulled out of the Paris accord on climate change and traveled to China to congratulate Xi on besting the U.S. in trade. “I give China great credit,” he said.

Trump’s admiration for China dovetails with his rejection of the traditional American approach to the world. The famously transactional author of *The Art of the Deal* likes the way China does business one country at a time. “Focusing on bilateral negotiations rather than multilateral negotiations” is Trump’s stated preference. It’s how Beijing went about assembling the trillion dollars in deals that together are called the “New Silk Road,” a series of bargains with smaller, less-than-democratic Central Asian countries, powered by loans that China offers on its terms. Beijing’s goal is not only railroads and ports; it also wants to bind developing countries to its authoritarian system. China is assembling an illiberal version of the international system that the U.S. built seven decades ago.

It makes sense—for Beijing. “China’s strategy to the world is they want everything to be bilateral negotiation, because, except for the United States, China is stronger than any other country,” notes Jon B. Alterman, senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. “The U.S. strategy has been to push for multilateral negotiations, because we have robust allies. China doesn’t have any real allies.”

It’s not only confusing for the U.S. to reject the

*Nestled in the Swiss Alps, Davos (pop. 11,000) was best known as a ski resort until the World Economic Forum made it synonymous with the global elite*



multilateral world that it made. According to Alterman, it may well be impossible. “The U.S. can’t be an island,” he says. “We have the most powerful economy in the world. We are more networked into the rest of the world than any other country. We are the reference point for the world. And I don’t think that goes away. What goes away is other people’s willingness to help maintain the system.”

At least until Trump depleted the State Department, the potency of that system was always most evident abroad. In nearly any capital, the most important foreign diplomat was the U.S. ambassador, and many missions include an Information Resource center. They’re basically libraries open to locals that served, in the pre-Internet days, as a kind of Christian Science Reading Room for democracy, stocking U.S. newspapers and periodicals that showcased a free press, while offering credible reads not often available in less free societies.

The centers remain open from Minsk to Rabat, but their mission is now challenged by Trump’s ceaseless assaults on the news media, which comfort despots rather than the people suffering under them. Trump’s cudgel of “fake news” has been used to justify crackdowns on journalists in the Philippines, Russia, China, Venezuela, Turkey and other countries. “In 2017, the Trump Administration made

‘The U.S. can’t be an island ... We are more networked into the rest of the world than any other country. And I don’t think that goes away.’

**JON B. ALTERMAN**, senior vice president, Center for Strategic and International Studies

explicit—in both words and actions—its intention to cast off principles that have guided U.S. policy and formed the basis for American leadership over the past seven decades,” the watchdog Freedom House declared in its latest survey of the state of democracy in the world, which has been in decline for a dozen years.

**IN MANY WAYS**, the real turning point came at the U.N. in September, when Trump staked out for the U.S. the low ground traditionally claimed by authoritarian regimes: the primacy of sovereignty, which translates as “mind your own business.” He used the word 21 times in a 41-minute speech, with scant mention of the ideals that made the light showing from the U.S. a beacon, as opposed to a campfire.

Thus did the world’s oldest democracy yield back to Europe at least rhetorical defense of the Enlightenment on which the U.S. was founded, including the 18th century notions that inspired first the Declaration of Independence and then the Constitution: tolerance, liberty, progress and, not least, reason. There does not appear to be much of that in Trump’s effort to withdraw from the world.

Rather than a strategic retreat, it has the feel of a sullen withholding from a world moving so quickly, it’s already looking for leadership elsewhere. □



# Making globalism great again

By MOLLY BALL/DAVOS

MUCH LIKE THE SECRET INFRASTRUCTURE OF money and power that makes the world go round, the Swiss Alps were imposing but nearly invisible as the world's financial, political and intellectual leaders gathered in Davos. An epic 6-ft. snowstorm had snarled the Jan. 22 opening of the World Economic Forum. The bestowing of humanitarian awards on Cate Blanchett and Elton John had to be delayed by half an hour as the world's VIPs slipped and slid and simmered in hours of stopped traffic.

By week's end, Donald Trump would be joining the gathering—a neat symbol of his ingestion by the globalist class. A year ago, this group had been mortified by Trump's election and the rise of populism around the world. But the destabilizing President who once seemed like an existential threat now seems more like a harmless diversion. A year after Trump's election raised the prospect of revolution, the elites have regained their confidence. The revolt had been put down, stock markets are up, and globalism is making a comeback.

"The phenomenon of Trump is no longer interesting to people," said Timothy Snyder, a Yale historian whose book about tyranny Trump helped send shooting up the best-seller list. Over his shoulder, I spotted former U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry entering the reception we were attending. "A year ago, everyone thought Trump was just fascinating," Snyder added. "I spend a lot of my life in Europe, and what I see is that the Europeans have moved on. America no longer matters."

Trump may be the most important person in the world, and in Washington, his Administration is an engine of outrage and convulsion. But he was hardly the central topic of conversation in Davos. The globalists, it seemed, had more important things to discuss. Things like connectivity and artificial intelligence and inclusive growth. The plight of refugees and how to address global pandemics and "drones for all."

Trump may represent the antithesis of everything the Davos crowd holds dear. But on the other hand, that crowd is making a lot of money these days. "It's been a very economically successful year," said Sami Sagol, an Israeli businessman and philanthropist who was seated at the health bar, where a variety of natural juices were available. "I didn't expect it, but he's been successful, and this must be celebrated."



A year has passed, and the world has not fallen apart. Trump hasn't started a trade war or a nuclear war; the world economy is booming, and America's corporations just got an enormous tax cut

If anything, the globalists seemed inclined to view Trump, who was scheduled to arrive on Jan. 25 and give a speech the following day, with benign tolerance. Dialogue is one of their cardinal virtues, and most seemed determined to give Trump a hearing. "I don't agree with Trump, but I believe in listening to people you disagree with," said Steven Pinker, the Harvard psychologist and best-selling author. Trump's "America first" vision, he said, was "horrifying," and his derision of expertise and multilateralism was "childish." Pinker's forthcoming book argues that despite pervasive gloom and negativity, the world is getting better in many ways—an ineluctable trajectory of progress that Trump is powerless to impede.

"We know what he's probably going to say," Pinker mused with the air of a man who could hardly care less. "Davos Man, screw you."

**IT'S NOT A MYSTERY** why most people want to be at Davos. The conference, now in its 48th year, symbolizes the pinnacle of wealth and status. Attendees pay tens of thousands of dollars for the privilege of mingling with their transnational peers, gliding among the glittering parties and exhibits sponsored by various countries and corporations and foundations.

The political scientist Samuel Huntington coined the archetype "Davos Man" to symbolize the "emerging global superclass." It wasn't a compliment; his essay on this trope was titled "Dead Souls." The rootless, denationalized elites, he argued, were out of touch with ordinary people's yearning for tradition and community. It was this theme that Trump's onetime strategist Stephen Bannon invoked when he said Trump's enemies were "the party of Davos."

In this vision, the people gathered were the problem, a condescending cabal that sought to impose its homogenizing will on the world. Trump's election was the capstone of a populist wave that saw Britain reject the E.U. in the Brexit vote and far-right parties rise across Europe. The humble folk, Bannon argued, had risen up to reject the intelligentsia's vision of a sophisticated, deracinated, borderless technological future. In a pointed snub, Trump forbade his transition team from setting foot in Davos last year (though Anthony Scaramucci showed up to defend the President-elect). As a result, the summit had a haunted, cowed feeling. "Last year was panic mode—a sense of 'They're coming after us,'" Jan-Werner Müller, a Princeton political scientist, told me.

But a year has passed, and the world has not fallen apart. Trump hasn't started a trade war or a nuclear war; the world economy is booming, and America's corporations just got an enormous tax cut. "I think we have stopped the threat of populism in Europe," a Scandinavian CEO told me, pointing to recent elections in France, the Netherlands and Germany.

Jimmy Wales, the founder of Wikipedia, made it through the storm to attend the first night's dinners

and parties. It was true, he reflected, that the world has seen a troubling rise in “politicians gaining power by fomenting hatred” and voters seeking to reject internationalism. “But I don’t think it will last,” he told me. “We’re one small planet, and I hope we can get through this without too much bloodshed.”

In the end, Trump’s behavior was reassuringly understandable: like everyone else, he just wanted to attend Davos. Davos Man has regained his confidence, and the globalist project can proceed as scheduled—as soon as the snow is plowed and the helicopters are cleared to land, that is.

And yet a shadow persists. The highlight of last year’s summit was a speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping, who earned ardent applause for his rousing defense of globalization. With the U.S. receding from the world, China has raced to fill the vacuum, a development with troubling implications. “If you’re American now, you have to answer the question,” says Snyder, the Yale historian. “Why is democracy a good idea if it brings you to this?” What good is democracy, the world wants to know, if the result is Trump?

**BY THE THIRD DAY** of the forum, the sun was out, the streets (and helipads) had cleared and the U.S. government had reopened, at least temporarily. Only the usual happy-hour limousine jam threatened to impede the festivities—that and the “gassy stink bomb” that some in Trump’s orbit were reportedly urging him to unleash.

Ironically, the U.S. was once the inspiration for the World Economic Forum: its founder, a German intellectual named Klaus Schwab, was an evangelist of American management techniques who feared that Europe would be left behind by the global economy of the 1970s. If the rest of the world now views the U.S. as less role model than sideshow, that leaves Americans with no small amount of angst.

“I brought my pussy hat, but unfortunately I have to go back to Paris on Thursday,” lamented Sarah François-Poncet, a New York City–based fashion executive. She was trying to find someone else who would wear the protest gear at Trump’s speech. “It’s going to be nonsense, and the next day he’ll tweet something crazy,” she predicted.

The world’s elite may have the luxury of ignoring Trump, but for American liberals he is still a daily nightmare. Some U.S. delegates at Davos told me they were embarrassed to say where they’re from. “I travel, and people are laughing at us,” said Victoria Pender, a Berkeley-based consultant. “I’ve started telling people I identify as a Californian instead.”

The global order is a self-sustaining organism, and in the era of Trump, it has found a way to adapt. Rather than take on the populist enemy as such, the Davos class has sought to co-opt and analyze it, to surround it with well-meaning concern, to engage it in a productive discussion. It was this



The global order is a self-sustaining organism, and in the era of Trump, it has found a way to adapt

that Davos’ perpetually hopeful attendees were seeking from their American interloper. “It’s good to have a dialogue,” a Dutch health care executive in fashionable glasses said when asked about Trump. “We talk here about collaboration and cooperation.” Perhaps, he thought, Trump might play against type and embrace those goals.

Others were less optimistic. “I once said that I thought if I could spend 24 hours in a room with Saddam Hussein, I could find the humanity in him,” said Matthieu Ricard, a Buddhist monk clad in red and orange robes. A Frenchman with a Ph.D. in genetics, he lives at a monastery in Nepal and writes books on happiness. “With most people, you can get through the armor to some kind of soft spot, but with Trump it seems difficult. There is some kind of deep self-centeredness.” As for what Trump might say in his speech, Ricard laughed, saying, “I don’t think he’s coming to say he was wrong.”

Would Trump seek to flatter or affront the globalists? Ultimately, few seemed to care. “He’s either coming because of his vanity, or he’s coming to pick a fight,” a London-based consulting executive said. “Or both, I suppose.” Davos Man was ready to carry on in any case. The projected end of his empire had turned out to be a false alarm. Last year’s panic had passed. The little people had gotten the nastiness out of their systems and were ready, once again, to be ruled by their betters, it seemed.

Davos welcomes the powerful, whatever their creed. In the past, the gathering has hosted decidedly nonenlightened leaders like the Iranian President. “I don’t think Trump coming here is anything special,” Eyal Gura, an Israeli investor, told me. “You have hundreds of other world leaders here, including nondemocratic leaders, people who violate human rights and so on.” There was a sudden commotion behind us as the Prime Minister of India emerged from the hall where he had been speaking, trailed by a crowd of cameras. □



# What the global elite can learn from the Donald

By RICHARD HAASS

MOST YEARS, THE LATE-JANUARY GATHERING OF the world's political, business and financial heavyweights in Davos is dominated by an event or individual. In early 2002, it was 9/11 and terrorism. Last year, it was the coming-out party for China's leader, Xi Jinping, who despite his authoritarian, mercantilist ways, spoke the language of globalization in a bid to supplant the U.S. around the world. This year, President Trump was determined to be the story of Davos 2018. The world's most prominent populist and his globalist hosts have plenty at stake in whether they can find common ground—we all do. But it will take a big dose of realism on both sides to avoid making things worse.

The Davos crowd sees globalization as a good thing, in no small part because it has been very good to them. With few exceptions, they are highly educated, wealthy, successful and mobile. Their world has been defined much more by opportunity than by threat. But now comes Trump, the veritable Antichrist for much of what they hold sacred. He rejects free trade, opposes immigration, turns back refugees, denies climate change, denounces the Iran nuclear deal, attacks the media and courts, embraces autocrats, demeans women and speaks in a coded language that resonates with racists and ultranationalists.

From his gilded perches up and down the East Coast of the U.S., the 45th President, apostle of "America first," sees globalization as bad for domestic prosperity and security and a direct threat to Washington's sovereignty. He genuinely believes that the costs of U.S. leadership far outweigh the benefits.

As he made the pilgrimage to the Alps, Trump, buoyed by a robust economy and soaring stock market, had two options for how to bridge this ideological divide. He and the many Cabinet members in his retinue could reach out to the skeptics to try to convince them that American foreign policy under this President is, as was said about Wagner's music, not as bad as it sounds, and is more in line with their thinking than they realized. Or Trump could try to win them over, making the case for trade that is narrowly balanced rather than free, calling out China, Russia, North Korea and Iran by name, criticizing



Those at Davos need to get real about how to fix the world ...

Trump needs to understand that globalization is not a choice but a reality

America's allies in Europe and Asia for free-riding on U.S. armed forces, and defending the unilateral American recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. He could ignore the importance of human rights and freedom and emphasize security over all else when it comes to immigration.

The truth is, neither option has much of a chance of working: the distance between Trump and the globalists is too great. Instead, both sides need to be more realistic. The Davos men and women need to open their minds to the idea that some of what Trump has to say may be right. They need to pay attention to the many people around the world who rightly fear globalization and modernity. Trump is wrong to paint trade and immigration as the culprits, but millions of jobs will disappear in the coming years thanks to new technologies, from robotics to driverless vehicles to artificial intelligence. What new jobs these advances create will require new skills and the training and education to perform them. The Davos globalists may well have to pay higher taxes to help fund needed retraining, transitional economic assistance and better public education. The stakes are high: the populism that, for the moment, is in modest retreat will return with a vengeance if large numbers of people around the world are left behind.

**ELITES NEED TO GET REAL** about how to fix the world. The U.N. will, at best, play the most limited of roles given the revival of great power rivalry and the emergence of dangerous regional states and subnational entities like ISIS. No matter how frequently the phrase *international community* is mentioned, the reality is that there is little. There is, as well, a need to shift the balance of authority within the E.U. away from Brussels toward member countries so as to give governments greater control over their borders, tighten enforcement of trade pacts, increase spending on defense and do more to meet the existing North Korean nuclear threat and the potential one from Iran.

For his part, Trump needs to understand that globalization is, in many dimensions, not a choice but a reality. The U.S. can, at a significant cost, close its borders to people and trade. But it cannot wall off the country from computer viruses, biological viruses or greenhouse gases and the effects of climate change. Nor can the country be made invulnerable to missiles or terrorists. No one expects Donald Trump to depart Davos a card-carrying globalist, but it would serve him well to return home recognizing that "making America great again" requires that the world not come apart. That can only be avoided if the U.S. shapes the world in partnership with others.

*Haass is the president of the Council on Foreign Relations and author of A World in Disarray*

# States of Vulnerability

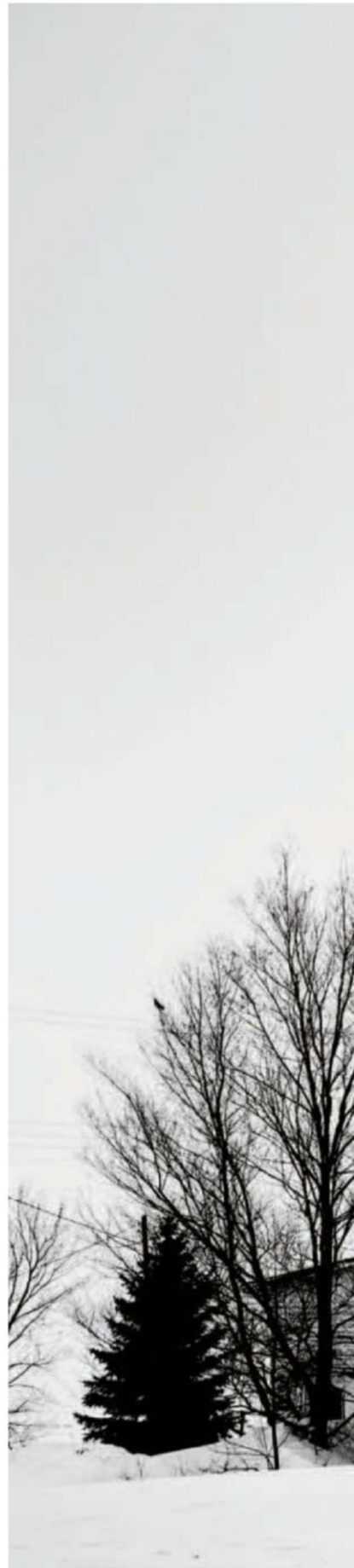
In several cross-country trips over four years, photographer **Matt Black** has documented communities on the brink, where poverty rates are high and hope flags, to capture the nation's deepening inequality

BALFOUR,  
N.D.

POP. 26

44%

live below  
the poverty line







By Wes Moore

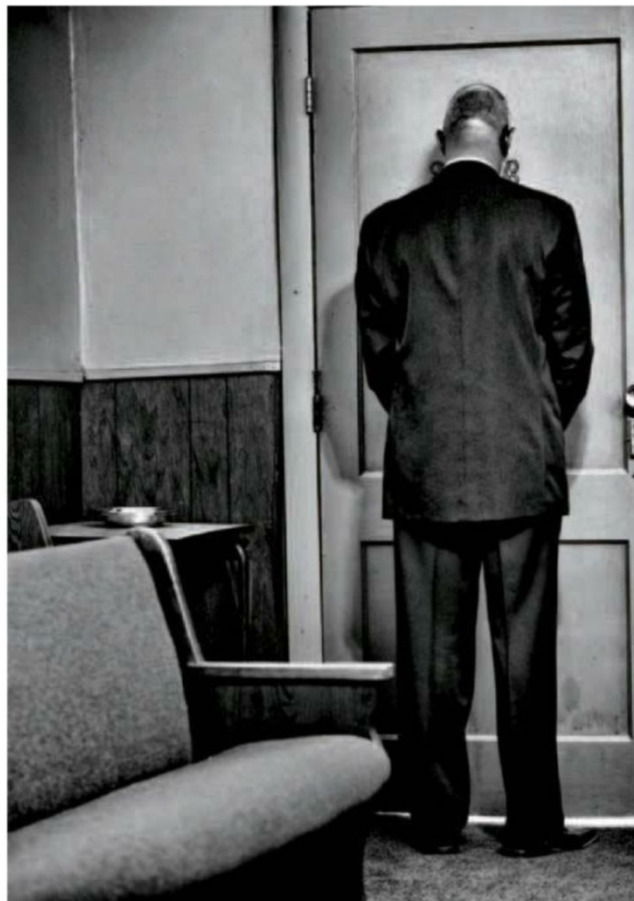
On the day the Dow Jones industrial average closed above 25,000 points for the first time in history, a video was going viral online. Filmed the day prior, Jan. 3, it showed an elementary-school teacher in Baltimore, former NFL player Aaron Maybin, sitting with his students. The young kids sat before Maybin on the floor in their dimly lit classroom, all bundled up in coats.

“What’s the day been like for you guys today?” Maybin asked them.

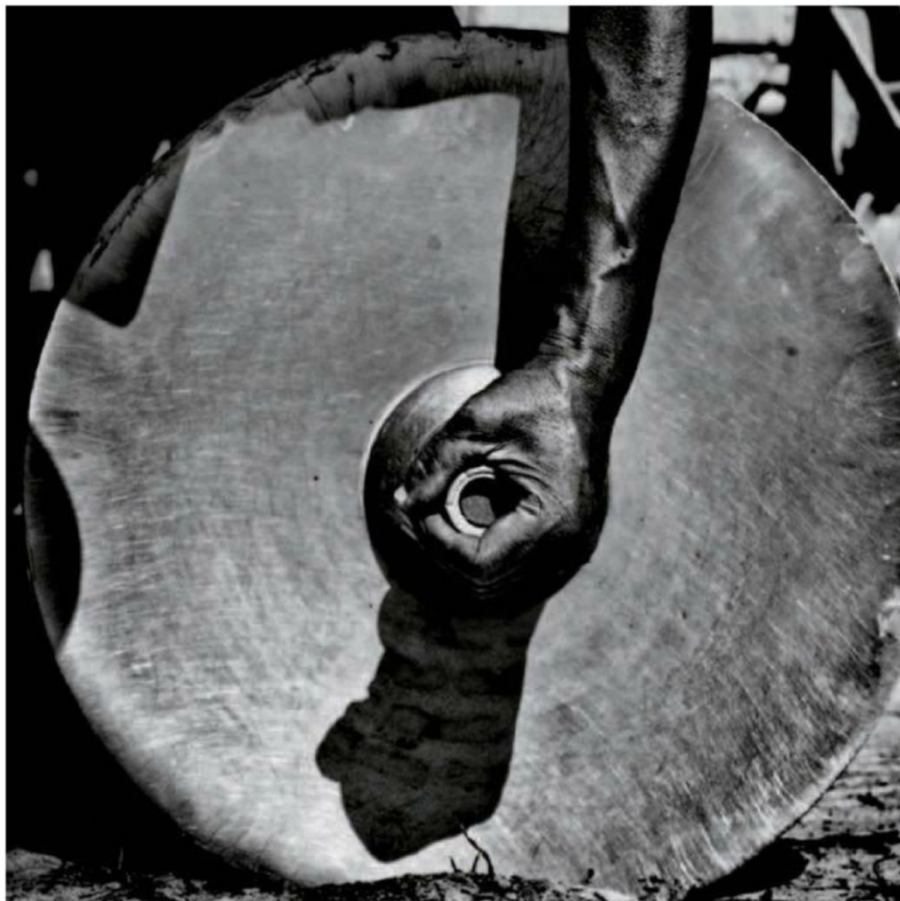
“COLD,” they said in unison. One child elaborated: “Very, very, very, very, very cold.”

The same day that this country celebrated an unprecedented moment of prosperity, schoolteachers in this same country were bringing in space heaters (and raising money to buy more) to try to warm up their freezing classrooms.

This isn’t an isolated trend. Far too many Americans are out in the cold.







**CLAY COUNTY,  
GEORGIA**

POP. **3,183**

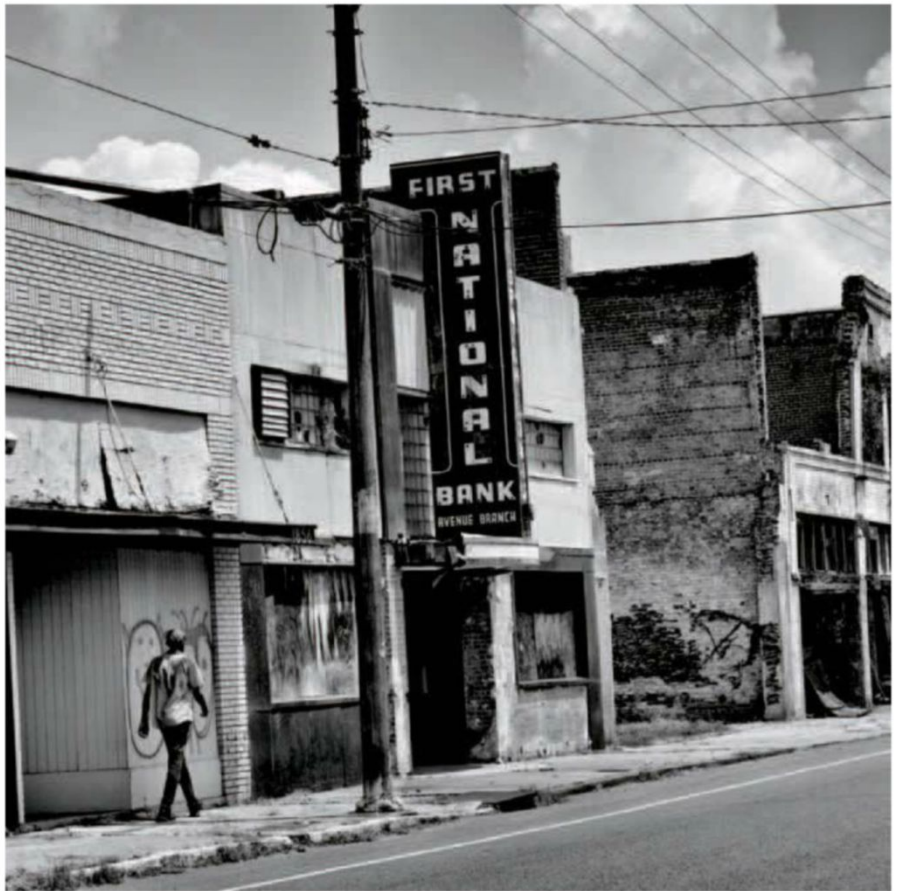
**42%**  
live below  
the poverty line  
(far left, left and  
bottom far left)



**MONTGOMERY,  
ALA.**

POP. **205,764**

**24%**  
live below  
the poverty line  
(left)



People in poverty in America in 2018 are not a world apart—they are all around us, and their lives unfold next to, but are cut out from, any prosperity that this nation experiences.

It's an injustice that is compounded 40 million times over—in the life and the plight of every American living in poverty at this moment.

The real greatness of this country has always lived in its promise—that anyone, no matter their circumstances at birth or their current realities, should have the same fundamental right to opportunity and to liberty. In the imperfect trajectory of our nation, we've been at our greatest when we've empowered our citizens with that promise. On our winding path to progress, that promise has served as a critical guidepost. That promise is so fundamental to what it means to be an American that millions of my fellow veterans have fought and died to defend it.

**THE PROMISE OF AMERICA** says that if you work hard—if you sacrifice—you, or at least your children, will succeed. But too many Americans today are sacrificing into an empty void, with no returns for generations. At a certain point, it's not sacrifice anymore—it's just suffering.

**GREENSBORO,  
ALA.**

POP. **2,497**

**39%**  
live below  
the poverty line  
(above, top left)

**SHREVEPORT,  
LA.**

POP. **199,311**

**24%**  
live below  
the poverty line  
(above, top right)

**STE.  
GENEVIEVE,  
MO.**

POP. **4,410**

**27%**  
live below  
the poverty line  
(above, bottom left)

In this era of the American story, opportunity has never been more out of reach for so many. It's never been more expensive to go to college. It's never been more difficult to run a small business. It's never been harder to earn a living wage. It's never been easy to be poor, but I don't think it's ever been this complicated.

Though so many Americans live below the poverty line, many millions more live hovering barely above it—one layoff, one cancer diagnosis, one missed bus or train, one sick child, one shock away from falling into poverty. Many Americans who once made up the lower-middle class now find themselves the working poor.

For far too long, our nation has neglected its most vulnerable citizens. Far too often, these vulnerable Americans have been lied about and lied to.

We're told people in poverty somehow deserve it.

We're lied to about how quickly and how drastically our industries are changing, and how people are being left behind. We're told people in poverty should just "get a job." We're told poor people in America's heartland should blame poor immigrants in America's border states for their poverty.





**THE PAIN OF** our most vulnerable citizens has been turned into political cannon fodder.

The reality is that the majority of people in poverty who can work are working and are still unable to earn a living wage. The reality is that too many people currently living in poverty were born there. The most shameful reality is that if someone grows up in poverty in America in 2018, they are more likely than ever to die in poverty.

People facing poverty in the U.S. look like all of us, and they live all around us. If the 40 million Americans in poverty have one common characteristic, it's vulnerability. If they have one common virtue, it's resilience.

They're single moms working three jobs just to stay afloat, just as my mother did in the Bronx 30 years ago.

They're displaced workers who went to work every day for 30 years, only to learn their jobs have been replaced by machines.

They're people returning from prison with no path forward, beyond a criminal-justice system so broken that every sentence carries a life term, and finding they are barred from living in public housing or receiving financial aid for college.

They're Americans suffering in Puerto Rico,

**ZIEBACH  
COUNTY,  
SOUTH DAKOTA**

POP. 2,801

**40%**

live below  
the poverty line  
(above, top left  
and right)



**SIOUX COUNTY,  
NORTH  
DAKOTA**

POP. 4,153

**36%**

live below  
the poverty line  
(above, bottom left)

a part of this country where the rate of poverty was nearly 45% even before a hurricane destroyed the island.

They're children riding the bus home to empty pantries and fragile support systems.

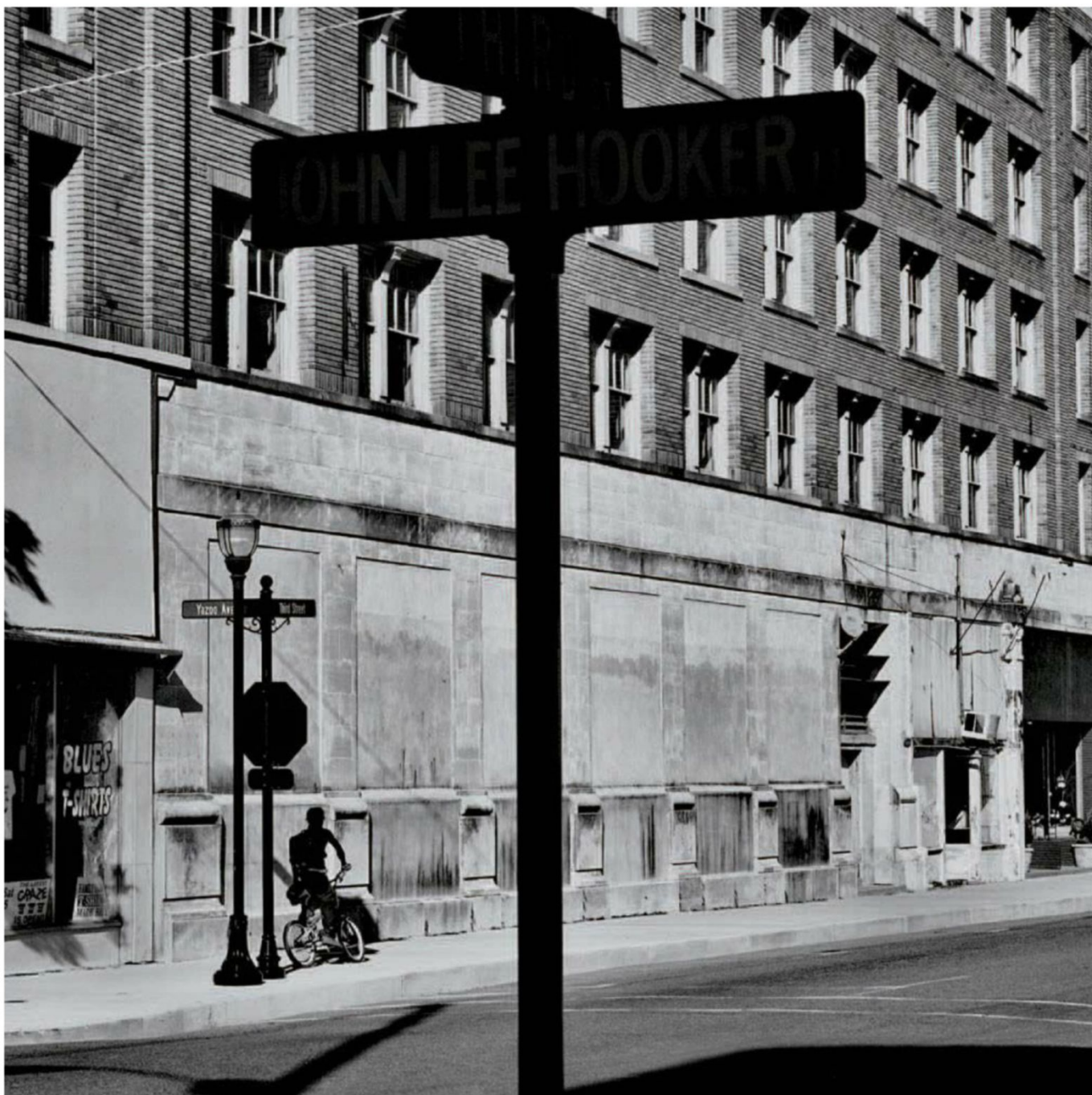
They're proud Native Americans in our heartland, living on reservations that have been chronically neglected.

Rather than invest in our most vulnerable Americans, rather than give their incredible, beautiful resilience something to latch on to, at best, we've neglected and ignored them. At worst, we've implemented policies that have put them in poverty and kept them there, and then buttressed and defended those policies with disparaging rhetoric.

Poverty is an injustice; no one deserves to be in poverty. And we can't allow the promise of this country to become a myth.

The greatness of this America doesn't belong to any single politician to give or take away. The greatness of America lives in its promise. That promise belongs to all of us, and it's all of ours to defend and bring to bear.

*Moore is the CEO of Robin Hood, one of the largest antipoverty organizations in the country*



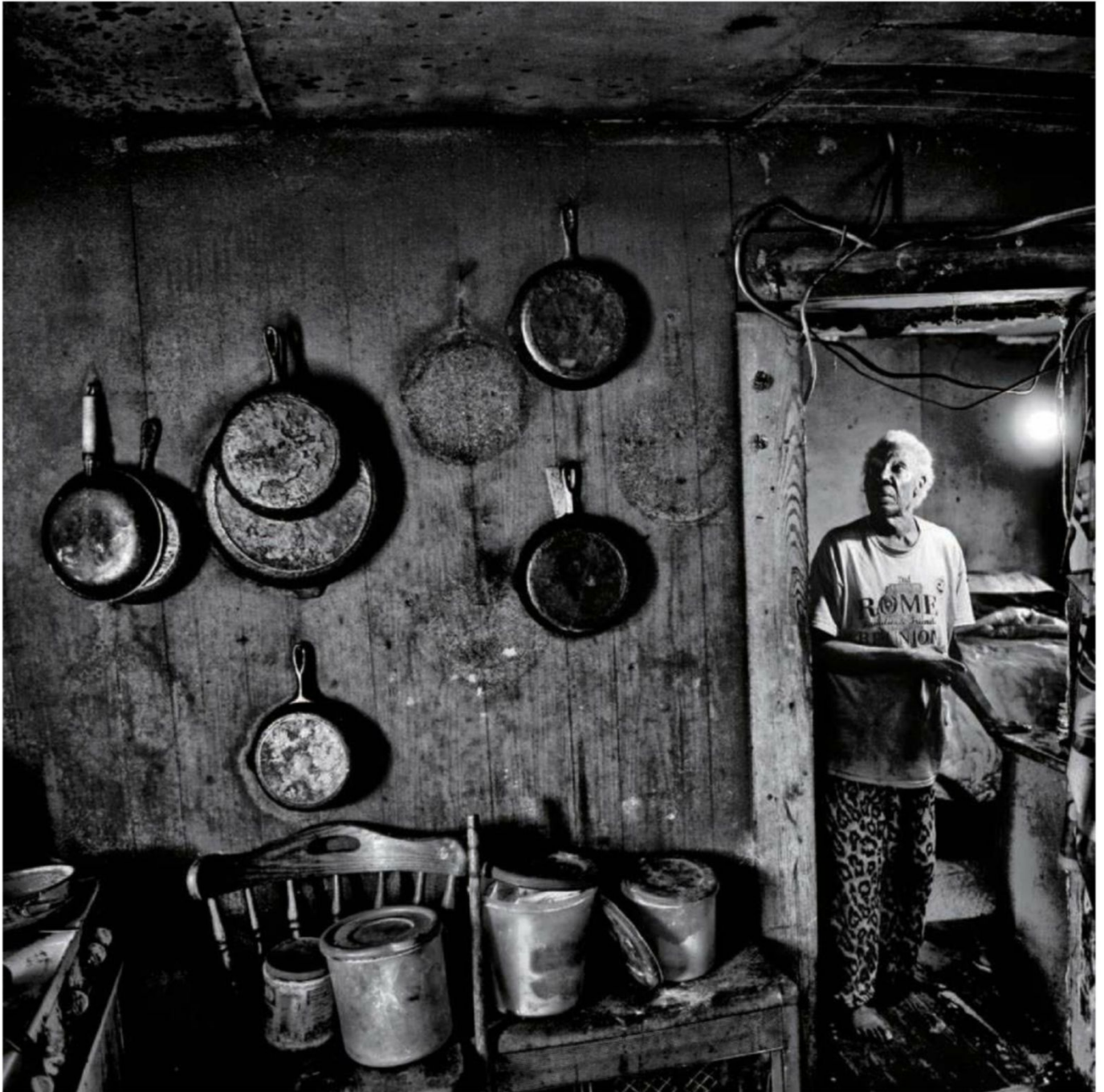
CLARKSDALE,  
MISS.

POP. 17,962

**35%**  
live below  
the poverty line







SUNFLOWER COUNTY,  
MISSISSIPPI

POP. 29,450

**36%**  
live below  
the poverty line





SYLVESTER,  
GA.

POP. 6,188

**29%**  
live below  
the poverty line



## VIEWPOINT

# Why GDP is a faulty measure of success

By David Pilling

SHORTLY BEFORE BRITISH VOTERS TOOK WHAT most economists regarded as the suicidal decision to leave the E.U., Anand Menon, a professor of European politics at King's College London, was in the northern city of Newcastle. A long way from prosperous London, Menon gave a talk in which he echoed the standard economists' view that a vote for Brexit would damage Britain's gross domestic product. A woman in the audience heckled back, "That's your bloody GDP. Not ours."

Just as in America, in Britain too the story told by official statistics does not always match people's lived experience. That is especially true in places like Newcastle, a former shipbuilding city, which lost out to competition from Asia in the 1970s and has seen living standards stagnate ever since. As in parts of the U.S. where opportunities for non-college graduates have stalled, health outcomes in Newcastle are below the national average.

The U.S. economy, we are told, is booming. In the past two quarters, gross domestic product has risen by more than 3%, the stock market is soaring and unemployment is down to a 17-year low of 4.1%. Many people, though, don't feel that upside.

The perception gap is an abyss. Unemployment, more broadly measured, is higher than the headline number suggests because many people have simply given up looking for work or are working in part-time jobs when they want a full-time job. One of the prime faults of GDP is that it deals in averages and aggregates. Aggregates hide the nuances of inequality. And averages don't tell us very much at all. Barring a few recessions, the U.S. economy has been on a near relentless upward path since the 1950s. Yet according to a Pew Research Center report, the average hourly wage for nonmanagement private-sector work was \$20.67 in 2014, a measly \$1.49 higher than in 1964, adjusted for inflation.

Studies suggest that people care more about relative than absolute wealth. If that is true, then as a minority have become richer, the majority have grown more miserable. In a famous experiment carried out at Emory University, two capuchin monkeys were put side by side and given cucumbers as a reward for performing a task.

When one of the monkeys was given better-tasting grapes instead, the monkey receiving cucumbers became distraught, flinging its now despised reward at its trainer. The experiment is called "Monkeys Reject Unequal Pay."

**THE PROBLEMS WITH** using GDP as a barometer go beyond masking inequality. Invented in the U.S. in the 1930s, the figure is a child of the manufacturing age—good at measuring physical production but not the services that dominate modern economies. How would GDP measure the quality of mental-health care or the availability of day-care centers and parks in your area?

Even Simon Kuznets, the Belarusian economist who practically invented GDP, had doubts about his creation. He did not like the fact that it counted armaments and financial speculation as positive outputs. Above all, he said, GDP should never be confused with well-being. Kuznets' is a warning we have ignored. Growth as measured by GDP has become the king of numbers. Woe upon the politician who says he is going to sacrifice growth for something else, whether that is cleaner air, better health care or free pizza.

It is not all bad news. Because GDP is poor at capturing innovation, it may underestimate some aspects of our lives. A 19th century billionaire would have given half his fortune for a lifesaving course of antibiotics. Now antibiotics cost pennies and contribute virtually nothing to our measured economy. Wikipedia, which brings human knowledge to virtually everyone, adds not a cent to GDP.

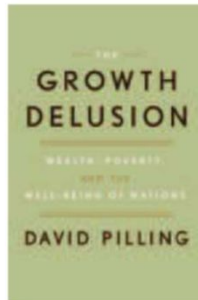
That suggests we need to find different ways of measuring our success. For the most part, we have become enraptured with a single measure that offers only limited information.

A decade ago, former French President Nicolas Sarkozy commissioned a panel, headed by Nobel economist Joseph Stiglitz, to study exactly this. In what became the title of its report, it concluded that we were "mismeasuring our lives."

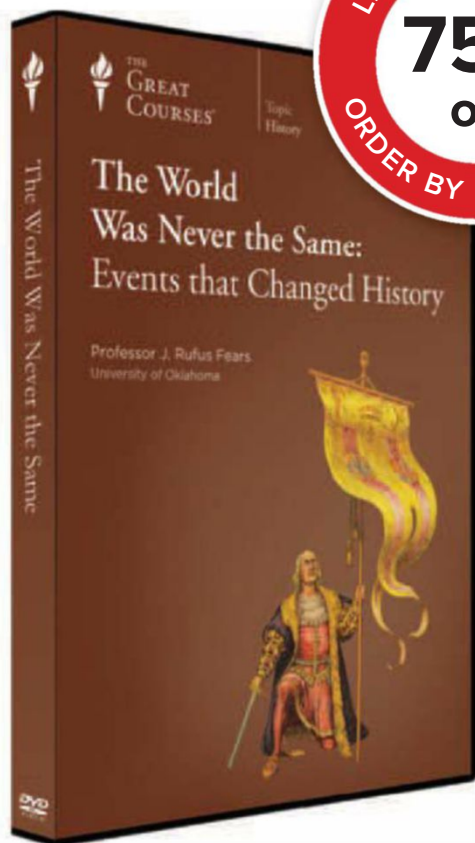
In the foreword, Sarkozy wrote that the gap between reported well-being and people's lived experience was creating a "gulf of incomprehension between the expert certain in his knowledge and the citizen whose experience of life is completely out of sync with the story told by the data." That gulf, he wrote, in words that summarize the anger that is currently tearing so many societies apart, is "dangerous because the citizens end up believing that they are being deceived. Nothing is more destructive of democracy."

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*Pilling is an associate editor at the Financial Times and the author of The Growth Delusion*



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31. Franklin Roosevelt Becomes President (1933)
32. The Atomic Bomb Is Dropped (1945)
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# Time Off

'ANN CURRY'S COMEBACK IS ALL THE SWEETER FOR HOW POTENTLY IT UTILIZES HER STRENGTHS.' —PAGE 46



*Quavo, Offset and Takeoff, of Atlanta trio Migos, are at the forefront of rap's latest wave*

## MUSIC

### How rap ascended (again) to become the sound of the mainstream

By Raisa Bruner

WHEN PHILADELPHIA RAPPER LIL Uzi Vert was 20 years old, he uploaded a few songs to SoundCloud, a free music-sharing platform. The tracks got a couple hundred plays, then a few thousand. Three years later, on the strength of a moody song called “XO Tour Llif3” and a series of streaming-only mixtapes, the rapper, now 23, has racked up over a billion Spotify streams and nabbed a Best New Artist Grammy nomination.

Lil Uzi Vert’s rise is impressive. But this year, he’s just one in a crowd of hip-hop stars who are dominating the mainstream. Nearly half of the songs on Jan. 27’s *Billboard* Hot 100 chart were rap or incorporate elements of hip-hop. Listening in the genre increased 74% on Spotify in 2017, and Drake, the Weeknd and Kendrick Lamar

were three of the platform’s top five most popular artists. This is a marked change from the past 10 years, when artists like Taylor Swift, Katy Perry and Lady Gaga ruled the charts. In fact, “Look What You Made Me Do,” the lead single from Swift’s latest album, *Reputation*, fell from the No. 1 spot on the singles chart after just three weeks, dethroned by the rapper Cardi B’s viral hit “Bodak Yellow.” That was quickly succeeded by the downbeat rap of Post Malone and 21 Savage, whose single “Rockstar” topped the Hot 100 for eight straight weeks.

The Grammys are evolving as well. In years past, Album of the Year nominations might nod to one hip-hop work, tokenizing the genre. This year, rap dominated the category, thanks to artists like Jay-Z, Lamar and Donald

Glover, who has pushed genres with his musical project Childish Gambino. Three of the five nominees for Record of the Year are also hip-hop, as are three of the five up for Best New Artist, including Lil Uzi Vert.

For fans of American hip-hop, this recognition is long overdue. “It was kind of a ‘Well, duh,’ moment,” says Ross Scarano, a *Billboard* vice president of content. “Rap has been the most dominant force in American culture for years.”

**FROM THE SEMINAL** 1979 hit “Rapper’s Delight” to the heyday of mid-’90s gangster rap and the pop-rap crossovers of the early 2000s, there has long been an appetite for rap. But it hasn’t always made its way to the masses. The tastes of a few—radio titans and record-label kingpins of the predominantly older, white and male variety—often ruled distribution, and in turn popular success.

So what changed? It’s now easier than ever for rappers to make music—create a beat on a computer and drop in a voice note and you have the beginnings of a song. Add the power of streaming platforms like SoundCloud, Spotify and Apple Music, which makes it easier for fans to discover emerging voices, and it’s no surprise that hip-hop has been given a new and lasting way to shine. This is not the first time rap has ascended to the mainstream; pop-rappers including Nelly, Ja Rule and Ludacris all enjoyed stretches atop the charts in the 2000s. But the breadth of its impact across metrics both quantitative and cultural now marks a new era, especially after the latest phase of pop-star dominance. “We didn’t change anything,” notes Kevin “Coach K” Lee, one of the founders of revered Atlanta label Quality Control, about why rap is hitting its stride now. “We just kept it real. It just started connecting. Now it’s going to start expanding.”

On the new digital platforms, rap is freed from old-school constraints. “There are no gatekeepers,” says Nick Holmsten, Spotify’s vice president of content, global head of shows and editorial. “When I grew up, you had to be in a band, know how to play a guitar.” Now you just need a touch of

## Hip-hop’s new wave

These six artists, many nominated for Grammys, represent directions where the genre is heading



**CARDI B**

A former star of VH1’s *Love and Hip Hop*, the Bronx native blasted onto the scene with surprise hit “Bodak Yellow,” an unapologetic declaration of confidence.



**LOGIC**

Logic’s breakout hit with pop singer Alessia Cara and R&B star Khalid is a call for suicide prevention, establishing him as one of rap’s most socially conscious voices.



**MIGOS**

Quavo, Offset and Takeoff have made their brand of Atlanta trap ubiquitous, popping up all over the charts and making a mark with the infectious “Bad and Boujee.”

technological savvy to make the music—and access to a smartphone to find it. The gatekeepers have been forced to shift their strategies in accordance with what listeners are actually consuming, regardless of its origins. “There’s not a single person today under the age of 25 that looks at music from a genre perspective,” notes Holmsten. “[People are] much bolder in their listening.”

Plus, streaming services give rappers the chance to be discovered by huge audiences. SoundCloud, for instance, claims to reach 175 million global monthly users. Spotify has over 70 million subscribers and continues to grow rapidly; one popular hip-hop playlist curated by the platform, RapCaviar, has nearly 9 million regular listeners. Once the *Billboard* charts began taking all streaming data into consideration in 2013, hip-hop gained ground. In turn, Top 40 radio took notice. And eventually, even the notoriously out-of-step Grammys had to change to keep up. Last year, Chance the Rapper won an award for a streaming-only album, the first of its kind to do so—a watershed moment, proving the viability of streaming even in the most traditional of environments.

Quality Control’s Lee and his label partner Pierre “Pee” Thomas have helped shepherd popular artists like Gucci Mane, Lil Yachty and Migos into the limelight. They say streaming helped bring rap out from underground-mixtape purgatory. “Rap was always in the mainstream,” Lee explains. Adds Thomas: “People are finally realizing that rap music is running the culture right now. They’re just giving it proper acknowledgement.”

**CONSIDER MIGOS**, a trio of Atlanta-born relatives. Quavo, Offset and Takeoff are three of the most popular rappers today, with a No. 1 album, two Grammy nominations for their top-charting hit “Bad and Boujee” and a second album coming out on Jan. 26, aptly titled *Culture II*. (“It represents the power of rap, it represents the power of our generation,” 26-year-old Quavo says of the title. “Calling it *Culture* means we represent hip-hop.”) In the past, they might have found only niche popularity in the Atlanta trap scene. Instead, Lee



and Thomas discovered their work thanks to fans who were taking note online, and have guided the personality-driven trio toward blockbuster national success. (Not without controversy: Offset recently came under fire for using homophobic language in his lyrics.)

Katy Perry, still one of pop's biggest names, tapped the three to appear in her latest album's second single. The result, the raunchy "Bon Appétit," bombed. Just a few months before, though, Migos had notched their own No. 1 without any need to play nice with a pop star.

"It's all about timing," says Quavo. "Rap has been taking over slowly but surely. We're influencing a whole new wave, a whole new style, a whole new flow of music." For Offset, the key to their rise has been consistency: "We don't just go through the motions." Instead, they've released song after song, often as featured artists on other tracks. Fans are hungry for a constant stream of new content, and no one is better suited to satisfy this demand than a trio of prolific artists who work across genres. Then there's their image: if rappers are the new rock stars, few embody that lifestyle better than the high-fashion, flashy Migos. Offset proposed to his girlfriend Cardi B with a giant eight-carat diamond ring, an event she splashed all over social media to great effect.

Their story speaks to rap's particular appeal for aspiring stars: how nimbly it can be created, especially for those who might not otherwise have the opportunity. Both Holmsten and Scarano refer to it, fittingly, as "democratic."

**IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO** talk about rap as a genre without also talking about issues of race and class, and in a national moment of deep division, it's apt that people—especially young people of color—are turning to music to find an outlet. The barriers to entry, either as a fan or an artist, are lower than they've ever been; the visibility of those who have made it is, thanks to social media, higher than ever before. For kids, to become the next Migos, rising from the streets to hip-hop royalty, is a new American Dream.

Music trends have always been youth-powered, and today that youth taste skews to the specific and the



#### POST MALONE

The Texan sing-rapper is known for slow-moving, genre-crossing tunes like his early SoundCloud hit "White Iverson" and "rockstar," a sleeper chart topper with 21 Savage.



#### LIL UZI VERT

On "XO Tour Llif3," an emo-rap standout, Philly-based Lil Uzi Vert—also a Migos collaborator—found an unlikely hit, ultimately nabbing a Best New Artist Grammy nomination.



#### CUPCAKKE

Chicago's Cupcakke, who got her start uploading raps to YouTube, trades in unabashedly explicit songs and viral videos, and has lent her voice to tracks with pop's Charli XCX.

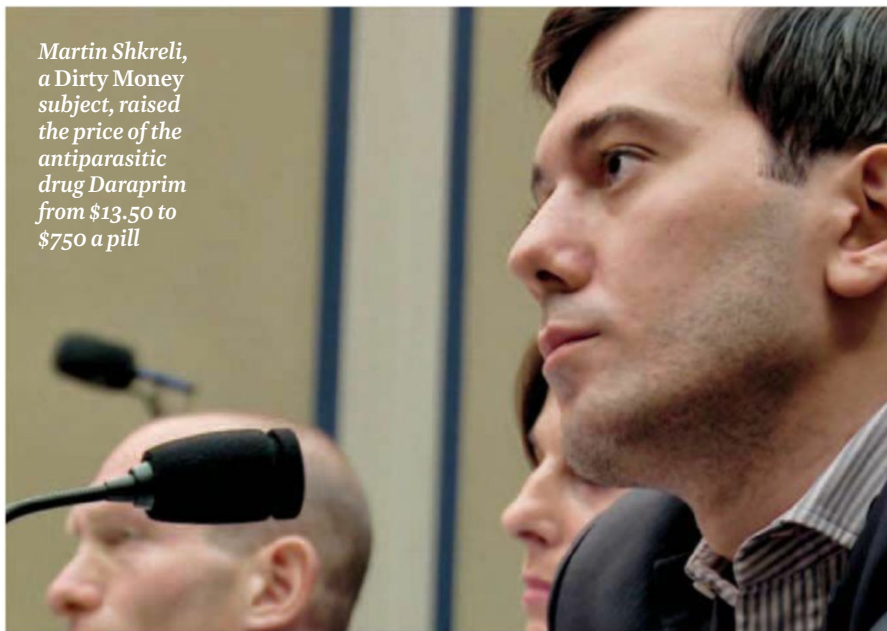
authentic. That includes pop artists like Lorde and Julia Michaels, who write reflectively about insecurity and desire, as well as the forward-thinking hip-hop boy band Brockhampton, the earnest rapper Lil Yachty and Young M.A., a rare openly queer voice in rap. In an era of increasingly complex identity politics, the perspectives that rappers share hit home. "There's a craving for more complicated art," Scarano says. But for many listeners, it's also more relatable art.

And just as there's tremendous variety in other genres, so it is in rap. Yes, Migos sing about parties and sports cars, but they also reflect on their impressive rise into superstars from nothing. Kendrick Lamar wants us to consider our faith; Jay-Z examines the complexities of marriage; the buoyant Chance the Rapper doesn't shy away from political statements. Artists like Designer and Jaden Smith are high-spirited, while their emo-rap counterparts Lil Uzi Vert and Lil Xan reflect on substance abuse and heartbreak. Perennial hitmaker Drake flirts with global rhythms. Cardi B, the first female rapper to top the charts since Lauryn Hill in 1998, is an unlikely Cinderella story, urging women to know their worth. As rap has become the sound of the mainstream, the sonic landscape of the genre has become as varied as the U.S. is diverse.

Moreover, hip-hop's recent ascendancy means greater visibility for people of color at a moment when many feel under attack, whether as a result of police brutality or changing immigration policies. And even though several of rap's rising stars are white, including G-Eazy and Post Malone, its most influential voices maintain deep roots in historically marginalized communities. As Scarano puts it, "Rap has always been a place for young black and brown people to speak about the world as they see it and as they live it."

The fact that it's now the new normal is a triumph for voices who haven't always had platforms to call their own—and finally do. Migos are smart to call their albums "culture." That's exactly what it sounds like. □

Martin Shkreli, a Dirty Money subject, raised the price of the antiparasitic drug Daraprim from \$13.50 to \$750 a pill



STREAMING

## Dirty Money lends ambition to Netflix

TV'S PREDOMINANT FORMAT FOR investigative journalism has recently been the quasi-comedy bit: shows like HBO's *Last Week Tonight* and TBS's *Full Frontal* expose policy issues by making light of them. But a new Netflix series of documentaries, *Dirty Money*, is intended to raise your ire—and there's nothing funny about it.

Director Alex Gibney (an Oscar winner for *Taxi to the Dark Side*) shows viewers how corporate interests have capitalized off rubes who look a lot like you or me—or him. In the first episode, Gibney discovers, after purchasing what he thought was an environmentally sound Volkswagen, that the auto company had intentionally deceived emissions testers. "F-ck Volkswagen!" he screams in the car.

For many investigative journalists in the current mode, the cursing out of a bad actor would be the end of the bit; for Gibney, gratifyingly, it comes at the very beginning, leading into a thorough look at the whole Volkswagen emissions story. Some *Dirty Money* stories are,

like Volkswagen's, familiar but worthily refreshed in the viewer's mind; others, like a barn-burning look at predatory payday loans, feel wildly undercover. It's hardly breaking news that short-term unsecured-loan operations prey on the economically insecure, but the manner in which Gibney methodically

takes apart one such operation—bolstered by recordings of operators dealing with customers who are realizing just how much of their money they have signed away—is rigorous and edifying.

What sort of response will this garner on Netflix?

It's hard to say. The

audience is potentially there, but a series of documentaries about tough issues without a touch of humor is a hard sell in an ecosystem that also provides all of *The Crown* on demand. *Dirty Money* is the sort of tough investigative journalism that, for a big media company, represents more risk than upside. It's worth rooting for, and watching. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

**DIRTY MONEY** is streaming on Netflix now

**I'm interested in abuses of power and deception, and self-deception. And how for many people the ends justify the means.'**

ALEX GIBNEY, to the *Guardian*, about the scope of his work

TELEVISION

## Curry meets TV again

ANN CURRY'S BROADCAST-news soap opera story reads like a dispatch from a more unfair era. Bounced in 2012 from her hard-earned seat on NBC's *Today* show due to a perceived lack of chemistry with her now-deposed co-anchor, Matt Lauer, Curry has become a potent symbol of an ambitious woman dealt a cruel hand by the men who controlled her fate. Perhaps worse, her place in the public imagination came to overshadow her work as a journalist.

In her new PBS series, *We'll Meet Again*, Curry finds her comeback—one that's all the sweeter for how potentially it utilizes her strengths. What on *Today* may have read as an unhip bleeding heart seems, here, like precisely what's needed. Curry works to reunite victims of historical trauma with those who

helped them, the sort of human-interest story that most morning TV has forsaken in favor of chasing sensation.

Instead, *We'll Meet Again* is guided by Curry's low-key, steady presence—one that's finally allowed to shine on its own. —D.D.

**WE'LL MEET AGAIN** airs on PBS on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. E.T.







Maze benefits from its talented young cast, but by its third installment, the franchise is low on fuel

## MOVIES

# The final *Maze Runner* runs out of steam

ADOLESCENCE IS SO AWFUL THAT THERE'S NO need to question the success of young-adult dystopian works like James Dashner's *Maze Runner* books and the movies based on them, including the third and final installment, *Maze Runner: The Death Cure*. Failing calculus? There are worse remedies than watching a bunch of teens in distressed henleys and fingerless gloves fighting the Man in a bleak futuristic landscape.

The first *Maze Runner* movie, released in 2014, was surprisingly effective, largely because its director, Wes Ball, focused on character development: the story's deepening mystery—involving a group of teens who come to realize they're part of an experiment by a shadowy group known as WCKD—emerges organically from the principals' acts of bravery and moments of weakness.

Some of those characters—the ones who weren't killed off either in the first film or its 2015 follow-up, *Maze Runner: The Scorch Trials*—reappear in *The Death Cure*, also directed by Ball. But by this point, the franchise has come to rely less on suspense and more on high-speed chases over rugged terrain, generic zombie scare moments and ho-hum virus fixes. The movie's hero, Thomas (Dylan O'Brien), is low-key and likable, though it's his best pal, Thomas Brodie-Sangster's Newt, who gets the most dramatic moments. He's charming to watch, but by this point, it's futile to wish for a cure-all.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

## MOVIES

# A Trekkie makes the trek of a lifetime in *Please Stand By*

MOVIES IN WHICH VERY FRAGILE PEOPLE HEAD OUT BY themselves on impossible quests can be more unnerving than enjoyable, and Ben Lewin's *Please Stand By* gets off to a shaky start. Dakota Fanning stars as Wendy, a young woman with autism who's obsessed with *Star Trek*. She hopes to win a screenplay contest keyed to the show, only to realize that her entry won't make the deadline unless she delivers it in person. Secretly, with her spirited Chihuahua Pete in tow, she leaves the San Francisco group home that offers her the predictability and security she needs and boards a bus to Los Angeles. When her psychologist (Toni Collette) and her sister (Alice Eve) realize she's missing, they launch a frantic search to track her down.

Wendy's negotiations with an unfamiliar and often threatening world should be excruciating to watch. But *Please Stand By* is only semi-excruciating: Lewin (*The Sessions*) maintains control of the movie's tone, so even when we're sure the absolute worst is going to happen to Wendy—or to Pete—we're proved wrong. Wendy, under normal circumstances, is incapable of crossing a busy street alone. But watching her interact with the world and conquer her anxieties even in the tiniest ways results in a kind of pleasurable relief.

That's largely thanks to Fanning, a performer who never chomps down on a role—she plays Wendy as a person and not a condition. In one of the movie's finest moments, Patton Oswalt shows up as a cop fluent in Klingon. He's speaking Wendy's language, in more ways than one, and when she responds in kind, we fear less for her. At that point we know she has what it takes to live long and prosper. —S.Z.

## FANNING THE FLAMES

Fanning was nominated for a Screen Actors Guild Award at age 7 for the 2001 film *I Am Sam*, making her the youngest nominee ever. Currently, she stars on TNT's *The Alienist*, from *True Detective* director Cary Fukunaga.



Fanning gives another finely tuned performance in *Please Stand By*

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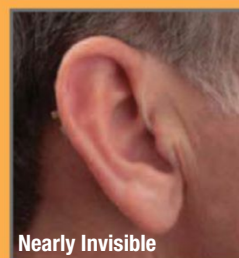
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NONFICTION

# Reading the resistance

By Sarah Begley

THEY CAME LIKE LOCUSTS: GREAT IN number and all at once. A year after President Trump's Inauguration, dozens of books about, by or for the resistance have arrived on shelves, offering everything from empathy for the politically afflicted to practical, tactical advice. These books can be moneymakers for publishers large and small: Macmillan, one of the five leading U.S. publishers, recently put out a lightly revised edition of Bernie Sanders' best-selling campaign book *Our Revolution*, now aimed at a YA audience and titled *Bernie Sanders Guide to Political Revolution*, which has sold 24,000 copies, according to NPD Bookscan. Naomi Klein's *No Is Not Enough* proved to be a best seller for the self-described "radical, independent, nonprofit" publisher Haymarket Books.

And there are more on the way: upcoming titles include *It's Time to Fight Dirty: How Democrats Can Build a Lasting Majority in American Politics*, by political scientist David Faris, and *Resist and Rebel: The Peoples' Uprising in America*, by strategist and commentator Jonathan Tasini. Next year, a Simon & Schuster imprint will publish *The ACLU Guide to Protest*, with a foreword by executive director Anthony D. Romero.

Liberals have long been accused of self-sabotage through excessive infighting, inadequate strategizing and voter myopia. So it makes sense that a cottage industry would spring up to give this group, in this era, some advice. The trouble is, most political handbooks struggle to transcend the realm of platitudes to become actually handy. Consider Klein's book, which builds

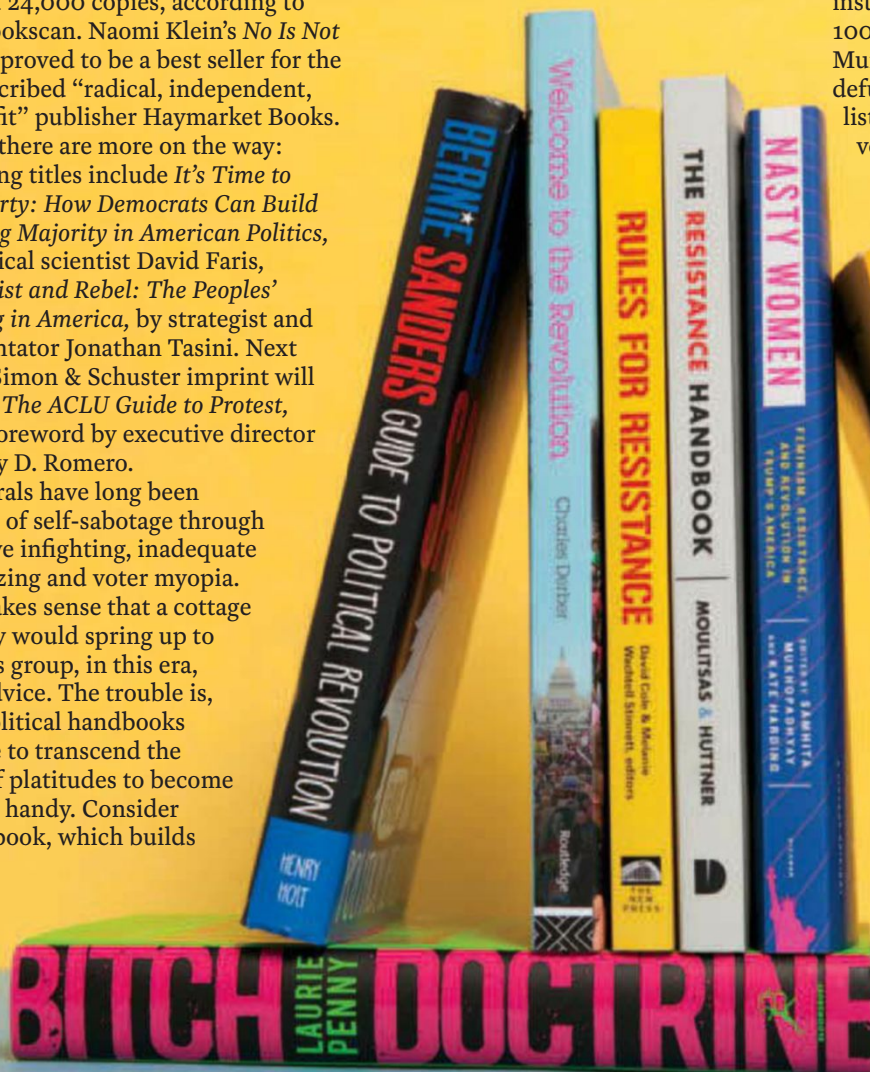
on her *Shock Doctrine*—leaders using catastrophes to weaken democracy. "If Trump tries to use a crisis event to ram through draconian measures, this emerging resistance is poised to rise up and act as a human barrier to say: 'No—not this time,'" Klein writes. The methods by which that will happen, however, are not detailed. In *The Resistance Handbook: 45 Ways to Fight Trump*, Daily Kos founder Markos Moulitsas and ProgressNow founder Michael Huttner make the case for mocking Trump: "Ridicule is fun! And the more fun we have, the easier it will be to maintain morale and energy in the Resistance." This kind of advice may alleviate the pangs of despair, but it's hardly change-driving.

**THE MOST ACTIONABLE** and perhaps least profit-driven of these books is *Rules for Resistance*, edited by

David Cole and Melanie Wachtell Stinnett, which is both an anthology of essays written after the election and a reprinting of the "Indivisible" guide that was assembled by former congressional staffers and published online at [Indivisible.org](http://Indivisible.org) in December 2016. With a hat-tip to the Tea Party, the tactic is defense rather than offense, to "stall the Trump agenda by forcing them to redirect energy away from their priorities." For example: when your Senator or Representative holds a town hall, attend with a group to voice your concerns, but spread out and sit alone or with one companion to make the combative questioning seem more widespread.

In the year since the guide first came out, such methods have proved successful for opponents of things like GOP health care bills. In Alaska, for instance, volunteers organized nearly 100 events to convince Senator Lisa Murkowski to vote against a bill to defund Planned Parenthood, and she listened, casting one of three critical votes to kill the bill.

Klein quotes the novelist Milan Kundera as saying, "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." Her point is that we shouldn't forget the political crises of the past when considering the current situation. But fatigue seems a more likely problem. With news constantly breaking, one story more unbelievable than the last, it's possible that readers will exhaust their capacity for outrage. □



## 8 weight-loss strategies that actually work

Ask anyone who's tried to lose weight: it can be a challenge. (Making the resolution is the easy part.) But new science reveals that some surprising habit changes, from getting more sleep to letting go of diet soda, can inch you toward your weight-loss goal



1

### Eat a big breakfast

There's more proof that breakfast may be the healthiest meal of the day. A recent study, published in the *Journal of the American College of Cardiology*, found that people who skip it are more likely to be overweight and to have dangerous plaque

buildup in their arteries, which puts them at increased risk for cardiovascular disease.

Researchers analyzed the breakfast habits of more than 4,000 people in their 40s and 50s who lived in Spain. Some people skipped the morning meal entirely, but most ate low-calorie fare, like toast or small pastries. Others ate a heartier breakfast that comprised more than 20% of their daily calories.

People who skipped or skimped on breakfast were more likely to have signs of plaque in their arteries than those who ate the most substantial breakfasts. They were also more likely to be overweight or obese, to have the largest waists and to have the highest body mass indexes, blood pressure, cholesterol and fasting glucose levels. Skipping breakfast, the authors say, may lead to hormonal imbalances and can contribute to people eating more calories—and more unhealthy foods—later in the day.

—Amanda MacMillan

2

### Drink one less soda per week

If you're looking for a starting point for meaningful weight loss,

try skipping sugary soda. People who cut out about one can per week gained about a pound less over two years in a recent study, compared with those who didn't change their soda habits.

Sugary beverages have long been linked to a larger waistline. In this study, published in the *American Journal of Public Health*, researchers used data from a survey of more than 11,000 women living in Mexico about their soda intake in 2006 and again in 2008. The women also reported their weight and waist measurements.

While the women who cut back on sugary soda gained less weight, those who added about a can of soda per week to their diet gained 0.66 lb. more over two years than those who didn't alter their soda consumption.

Cutting back on soda could be particularly beneficial for people who are already struggling with their weight: the strongest links between soda and weight were seen in women who were overweight or obese at the start of the study.

These may seem like small numbers. But gradual weight gain can have significant health impacts, especially over time. Another large-scale study—which included mostly white American women—linked sugar-sweetened beverage consumption to weight gain over 20 years. —A.M.







# 3

## Eat like an Italian

The Mediterranean diet continues to be hot—and for good reason. It tied for the title of Best Diet for 2018 by *U.S. News and World Report*, and research links it to a host of health benefits, from treating acid reflux to improving cholesterol levels and even extending lifespan. Although it's not a low-fat diet, it has been shown to help people lose weight—even when they aren't counting calories.

Unlike trademarked and commercialized plans that require books, calculations and rules, the Mediterranean diet is more of a general eating pattern and lifestyle. But that doesn't mean there aren't guidelines. Here's what you can eat on the diet—and why it's so popular with doctors, dietitians and foodies alike.

### WHAT IT IS

There's no one way to structure a meal on the Mediterranean diet. But in general, the eating plan is rich in fruits, vegetables, nuts, whole grains, olive oil and lean sources of animal protein. It's low in red

meat and other saturated fats, and it contains few processed foods or refined sugars. It also includes alcohol in moderation—like having wine with meals. It's based on the traditional diet of people in Mediterranean countries, like Italy and Spain.

### WHY IT'S SO GOOD FOR YOU

The Mediterranean diet has been linked to many health perks. Long-term studies have found that people who follow a Mediterranean-style diet are less likely to develop cardiovascular disease, Type 2 diabetes, kidney disease and breast cancer, to name a few. "It focuses on foods that have anti-inflammatory and antioxidant properties, and we know that's important for the prevention of disease," says Liz Weinandy, a registered dietitian at the Ohio State University Medical Center.

### WHAT TO EAT, AND HOW

Start by adding more fruits and vegetables—about nine total servings a day, says Suzy Weems, a registered dietitian and professor of nutrition science at Baylor University. Eating a range of colors ensures that you're getting a broad mix of phytochemicals and other important nutrients. "If you're drinking wine and eating olive oil but you're not adding the fruit and veggies, you're not getting the most important benefits," Weems says. Take a moderate approach to healthy fats like olive oil, nuts and avocados.

Bread and pasta also have a place in the diet, but choose whole-grain and whole-wheat options over white and refined grains. "They add fiber and bulk to the diet, which can help you feel full faster," says Weems.

When it comes to animal

protein, turn to lean options like chicken and fish. Eggs, cheese and yogurt are also typical components of the diet. And in addition to the occasional glass of wine, says Weems, don't forget to drink lots of water.

The diet doesn't require you to count calories or measure out portions. If you're trying to lose weight, however, Weems recommends talking to a nutritionist about whether keeping track of your daily numbers might be helpful.

There's no required schedule of meals and snacks, but the diet does emphasize the social aspect of eating—like sitting down at a table with friends or family. "When you talk about the pillars of the Mediterranean lifestyle, diet is only part of it," says Weinandy. "Regular social interaction and staying active with exercise are also really important." —A.M.



# 4

## Exercise to keep weight off

A healthy diet is the secret to helping you lose weight, but exercise may be the key to keeping it off. So finds one study, published recently in the journal *Obesity*, which tracked 14 former *Biggest Loser* contestants to determine how some of them kept weight off after the show. Physical activity, the researchers determined, was the clear answer—even though diet, not exercise, was shown to help the contestants lose weight in the first place.

Half of the people in the study maintained their weight loss after *The Biggest Loser* ended, while the other half gained the pounds back. Over six years of follow-up, the “maintainers” tended to be far more active than the other group, increasing their physical activity by up to 160% since they started losing weight. Those who regained weight, by contrast, only increased their physical activity by 25% to 34%. Overall, the maintainers did an average of 80 minutes of moderate exercise or 35 minutes of vigorous exercise each day—well exceeding the national guidelines of 150 minutes of moderate exercise or 75 minutes of vigorous exercise per week.

The findings tie into another study published by the same researchers last year. They found that contestants’ metabolisms slowed drastically after their dramatic weight losses, which significantly cut down on the number of calories they were able to burn each day. As a result, many contestants saw the pounds creep back.

Exercise, the latest study suggests, may counteract that effect by helping people burn enough calories to keep weight off—as long as they do enough of it. —JAMIE DUCHARME

# 5

## Get a good night's sleep

Sleeping at least seven hours a night may help people eat less sugar, according to a small new study in the *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*.

Researchers at King's College London

recruited 42 healthy adults who slept between five and seven hours a night and asked them to wear sleep trackers and keep food diaries.

Half of the volunteers had a consultation with a sleep psychologist about why sleep is important and easy ways to improve sleep hygiene, like avoiding caffeine and electronic devices before bed, establishing a relaxing bedtime routine and not going to bed full or hungry. The other people in the study weren't counseled and kept their regular schedules.

After four weeks, 86% of the people who'd had sleep counseling increased their average time spent in bed. Half of those people spent more time asleep, with increases ranging from 52 min. to 88 min. (Among the people who did not receive a consultation, there were no significant changes.) As an added perk, the people who extended their sleep patterns consumed, on average, 10 fewer grams of added sugar per day at the end of the study, compared with the beginning.

When it came to changes in weight, body composition, cholesterol or blood-glucose levels, there were no major differences between the two groups. But that may be because the study lasted only four weeks, the authors note.

This isn't the first study to suggest that more time in bed may lead to healthier eating. But it's significant in that it shows how simple, low-cost strategies can really make a difference. —Amanda MacMillan







6

## Eat more slowly

Thoroughly chewing your food isn't just polite. It may also make you feel fuller and help control weight gain. In one study, a team of researchers tracked a group of people for eight years and found that those who ate slowly gained less weight during the study than fast eaters. Other research has found that chewing your

food well increases the number of calories your body burns during digestion: about 10 extra calories for a 300-calorie meal. (Eating fast, on the other hand, barely burns any calories and has been linked to an increased risk for metabolic syndrome, a cluster of health problems that includes excess abdominal fat.)

Everyone seems to benefit from more mindful mastication. In one study, when people of all sizes were told to chew their food a little more than usual, their levels of gut hormones related to hunger and satiety improved. It's tough to say if a person's pace of eating is solely responsible for these body-weight benefits. But taking some extra time to chew your food, especially if you always finish dinner first, appears to be a good idea. —*Markham Heid*

7

## Dump fake sugar

A recent research review involving more than 400,000 people linked artificial sweeteners to the very thing they're supposed to prevent: weight gain. People who regularly consumed them, by drinking one or more artificially sweetened beverages a day, had a higher risk for weight gain, obesity, diabetes and other issues. More research is needed to determine what role, if any,



artificial sweeteners play in health problems like these. But some experts believe they may make people crave sweeter foods more often or even interfere with the way the body metabolizes real sugar.

—*Alexandra Sifferlin*



8

## Don't worry about workout weight gain

After starting a new fitness regimen, it can be frustrating to find out you've put on a few pounds. Unfortunately, unless you've been power-lifting for weeks, it's probably not muscle.

But that doesn't necessarily mean it's fat. Water is behind most short-term weight changes. "When you start working out and you're sweating, your body is smart, and it understands that its volume of fluid is not at the level it typically would be," says Michele Olson, an adjunct professor of sport science at Huntingdon College. To prevent dehydration, it responds by storing extra water, which can cause a few pounds of weight gain. Conversely, you may drop a few pounds if you quit exercising.

A better way to track your weight has nothing to do with a scale. "Just ask yourself if your clothes are fitting you better, if you have more energy or if you feel healthier," Olson says. If you answer yes to those questions, what you're doing is working. —*M.H.*

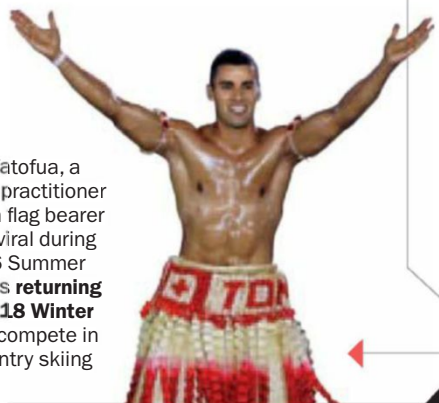


‘Got myself a fiancé just before new year.’

**ED SHEERAN**, singer, revealing he is engaged to his longtime girlfriend, Cherry Seaborn, in an Instagram post



Designers have **donated 39 of the black gowns and tuxedos** worn on the **Golden Globes red carpet** for an **auction** that will benefit the Time’s Up initiative



Pita Taufatofua, a taekwondo practitioner and Tongan flag bearer who went viral during the 2016 Summer Olympics, is **returning for the 2018 Winter Games** to compete in cross-country skiing



Kanye West and Kim Kardashian West revealed that they **named their baby girl Chicago West**, seemingly a tribute to Kanye’s hometown



TIME’S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

A North Carolina **doughnut-eating contest winner** was **arrested for allegedly breaking into and stealing** from a Dunkin’ Donuts



French brand Y/Project **debuted a line of thigh-high Ugg boots** at Paris Men’s Fashion Week that will reportedly retail for \$1,380



The U.K. **appointed Tracey Crouch the Minister of Loneliness** after a British commission found that more than 9 million people in the country reported they often feel lonely



Philadelphia police **greased the city’s street poles with Crisco** to try to prevent fans from climbing them when the Eagles won the NFC Championship game; some fans managed to make their way up anyway

SHEERAN: INSTAGRAM; UGG BOOTS: JASON LLOYD EVANS; MINISTER: REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; TAUFIATOFUA, BLACK DRESSES (4), KARDASHIAN, WEST, CRISCO, DOUGHNUTS: GETTY IMAGES





## When the only home you know becomes a place you may never see again

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

AMERICA AND AMERICANS ARE MANY THINGS, BUT I WAS reminded of how simultaneously bewildering, charming, generous and scary this place can be while watching a new documentary called *This Is Home*, about four Syrian refugee families who relocated to Baltimore just months before Donald Trump was sworn into office. The film premiered at Sundance this year, and I think its gentle humor may have surprised those who were expecting a grim refugee tale.

In one scene, Mohammed, a Syrian dad, is learning how to shop for groceries with a kind and enthusiastic worker from the International Rescue Committee (IRC), a nonprofit charged with getting the families settled. She takes him to a massive wall of milk containers—in other words, a typical American dairy section. They stand in front of this monument to choice, with a translator on speakerphone, and the guide starts going through all the kinds of milk, from skim to whole fat, 1%, 2%, with and without lactose—the explanation goes on and on in Arabic and English. The look on the father's face is somewhere between confusion and panic. (And she didn't even get into almond milk and flavored creamers.)

Finally, he shakes his head and tells the translator that what he was actually asking for was yogurt, not milk. Off they go to that section and another giant wall of choice. It's amazing. And funny. And poignant when you remember that the man is coming from years spent in a refugee camp, severed from his country because it's been blown to bits.

**AS THE TITLE SUGGESTS**, *This Is Home* is about making a new home, not by choice but by tragedy. For the four families, adapting to life in the U.S. is complicated by rising Islamophobia and the ongoing political battle over accepting families like them. But the heart of the story isn't political. It's about survival and belonging—the most essential of human needs.

These families have eight months from the day they arrive to become self-sufficient. After that, the financial and other aid they get from the IRC and the state is dramatically reduced. Everything seems impossible and accelerated, the most brutal reality show. They have to learn how to speak English, how to enroll kids in school and get them to the right bus, how to find a job and how to shake hands because, as one IRC staffer tries to explain, Americans always want to shake hands.

Another of the Syrian dads, Khaldoun, a big man with a big sense of humor, moved to Baltimore with his wife Yasmen and their four children. He is clearly grateful to be alive, but he grieves for his old life. "I am Syria," he says at one point, struggling with English and intending to say he's from Syria.



He sobs as he explains how he misses that home—its food, its smells, its earth. His is a universal pain, one that we've all felt in some form. As Maya Angelou wrote, "The ache for home lives in all of us, the safe place where we can go as we are and not be questioned." For these families, that safe place doesn't exist anymore. They will have to re-create it in a country where they fear they're not wanted.

**THOSE FEARS ARE** well-founded. The U.S. has all but closed its doors to refugees, citing terrorism risks. At the same time, compassion fatigue is becoming an issue. There are just so many refugee stories. The global population of people who've been forced from their homes topped 65 million in 2016, according to the U.N. All of that just intensifies the pressure on newcomers to fit in, especially women like Mahida, one of the film's moms. After being harassed, she fashions a hijab from a scarf of the American flag. It's a cultural compromise, or perhaps an olive branch.

Mahida is met more than halfway by an American friend who invites her to cook Syrian food for a church supper. More than 100 people show up. The Syrians mingle, answer questions about the meal, point out their hometowns on maps. For one night they are celebrities. And in a moment that should make even Jeff Sessions tear up, some of the kids get up after supper to say thank you to a beaming crowd on behalf of their families. They read haltingly from notes, but their English is already better than their parents'. Within months, the youngest will barely remember Syria. Watching them adapt so quickly is kind of thrilling. When all four families were flown to the premiere in Utah with director Alexandra Shiva, the kids couldn't wait to join her onstage. The oldest boy arrived in a hipster knit hat, and one little girl was decked out in bright pink sparkle sneakers and a shy grin. They looked right at home up there. □

**Kate Bowler** The Duke professor talks about her new memoir, *Everything Happens for a Reason: And Other Lies I've Loved*, and parenting with an incurable cancer diagnosis

**How do you live with so much uncertainty?** I don't know what I would have done if I weren't a mom. When you have a 2-year-old, he is not interested in your feelings or problems. The hilarious narcissism of toddlers was really freeing for me. Then I had all kinds of other problems. I am supposed to get tenure. But what if I don't live through the year? Is it a colossal waste of time for me to be ambitious when I don't know what anything is ever going to mean? That was part of writing the memoir. Creating a record for my son to know who I really am, all of my absurdity. Otherwise people will, when you die, lie about who you were. They will say you were perfect and constantly delightful, and not at all super-irritable after 10:30 p.m.

**Why did you decide to keep working as a professor?** If we just keep going, it does make the world a little bigger for us, and it really does show people who you really were. When the world shuts down, then you realize, these are my plot points. This is my one job, this is the one man I love, this is my one kid. Infinite possibilities can be exciting, but sometimes even more beautiful is doubling down on the life that you have.

**How did you change as a parent?** I became less invested in milestones and also those lovely hallucinations we have, when our kids are going to become astrophysicists. I also decided that my job is not to try to make the world safe. I think I thought you just create a beautiful, Instagram-y bubble for your kid, and then that's parenting. And then I realized that I was going to be the worst thing that happened to him if it went badly. I couldn't live with that. I decided that my new parenting philosophy is that I can't protect him from the pain of the world, but I can show him that there is truth and beauty in the midst of it. And if I can make him that person, then I have won as a parent.

**How have you reckoned with leaving your husband behind?** My supreme

confidence in how amazing he is made me a little too flippant about that. He's beautiful; he is the most baggage-free, stable person I've ever met. It took me awhile to realize that the person suffering and the person who is around the suffering person are living different lives. You are worried about wrapping everything up, and they are worried about a life that will go on diminished.

**You are an expert in the history of health, wealth and happiness in American religion. Why do Americans see tragedies as tests of character?**

It is one of the oldest stories Americans tell themselves about determination and some supernatural bootstraps. The double edge to the American Dream is that those who can't make it have lost the test or have failed. The prosperity gospel is just a Christian version of that.

**Did Christianity fail you?** Sometimes it felt like that, in part because of the stuff people said using the Christian faith to be incredibly trite. Christianity also saved the day. You really want a brave faith, one that says, in the midst of the crushing brokenness, there is the something else there, the undeniable, overwhelming love of God.

**You've said one of the hardest things about being sick is other people trying to explain your suffering.**

**What would you prefer?** People who hug you and give you impressive compliments that don't feel like a eulogy. People who give you non-cancer-themed gifts. People who just want to delight you, not try to fix you, and make you realize that it is just another beautiful day and there is usually something fun to do.

**Do you believe in miracles?** I do. I like to be equally open to lovely things happening as to bad things happening. —ELIZABETH DIAS

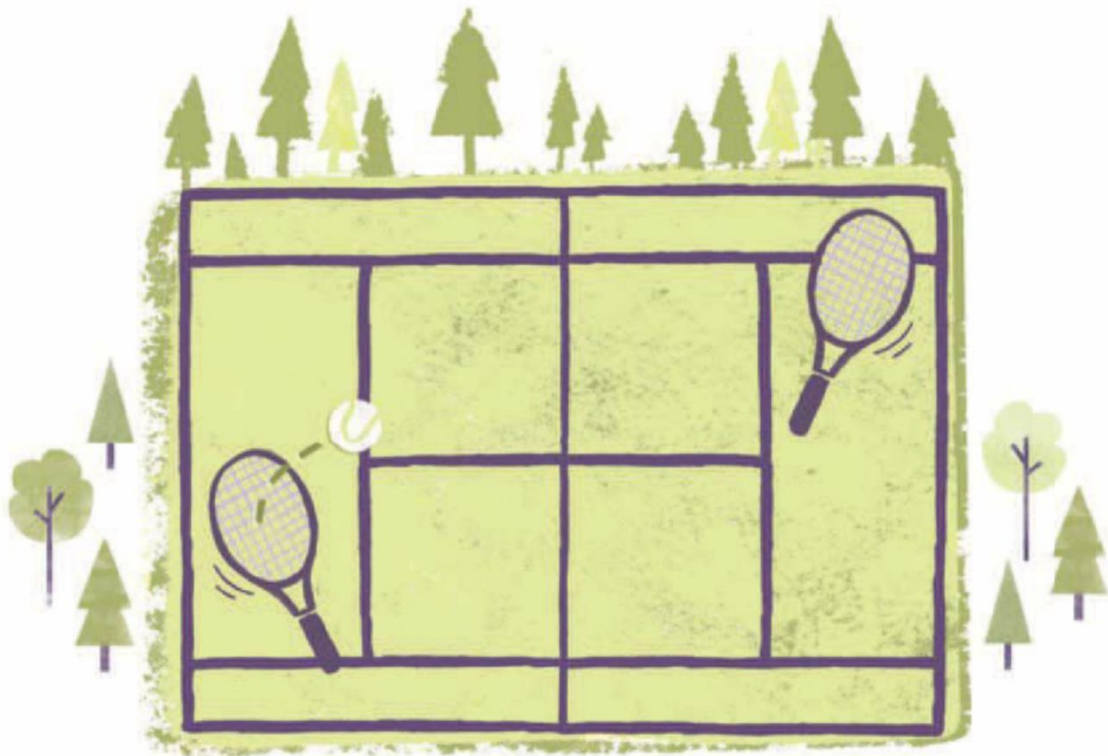
**'Infinite possibilities can be exciting, but sometimes even more beautiful is doubling down on the life that you have.'**



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